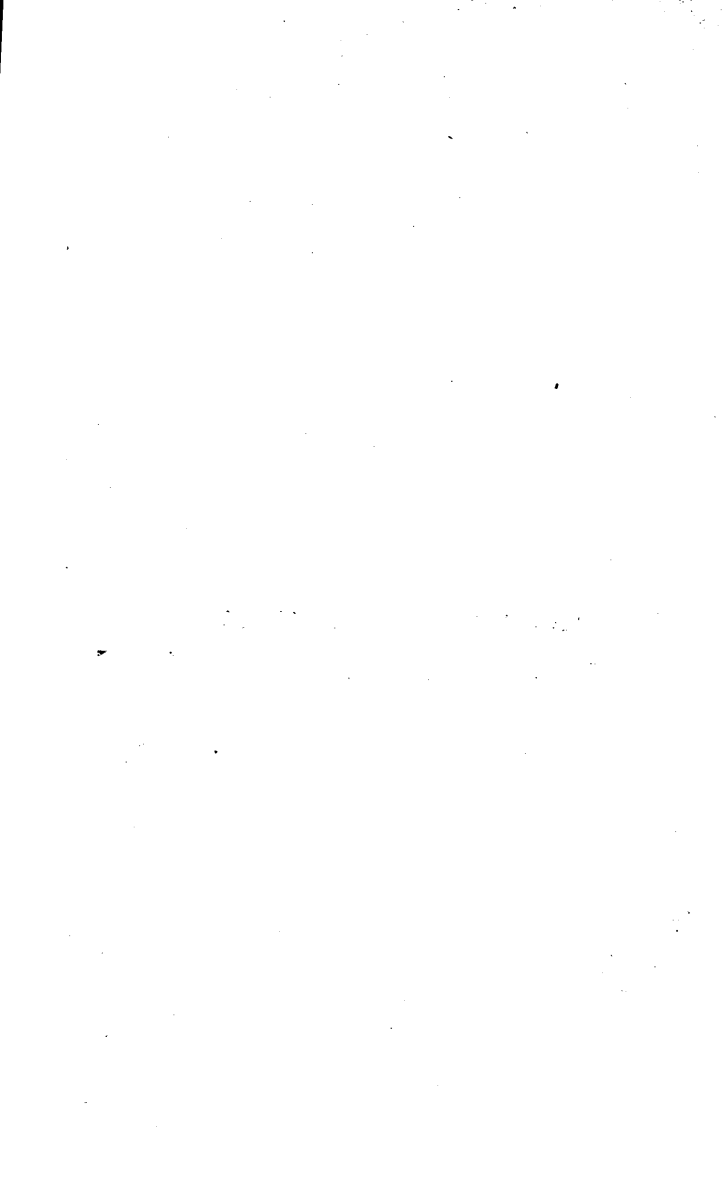


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WARBURTONIAN LECTURES

1849—1853.



WARBURTONIAN LECTURES,

PREACHED IN LINCOLN'S INN CHAPEL,

IN THE WINTERS FROM 1849 TO 1853.

ON

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH'S INSTITUTION,

AND DECLENSION INTO APOSTACY;

THE APOSTATE CHURCH'S HEADING BY THE ROMISH ANTICHRIST;

AND THE COUNTER-WITNESS-CHURCH'S PROPHESYING

IN SACKCLOTH,

ALL AS PREDICTED IN SCRIPTURE,

AND AS FULFILLED.

BY THE REV., E. B. ELLIOTT, M.A.

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AND B. SEELEY, HANOVER STREET;

LONDON: MDCCCLVI.

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PREFACE.

AGREEABLY with the injunction of the Founder of these Lectures, the course preached by me at Lincoln's Inn in the winter vacations from 1849 to 1853 is now printed and published. In this there has been a much longer delay than I originally anticipated. It has arisen in part from the necessity of a careful revision of the Lectures before printing; in part from the desirableness which suggested itself to me of adding in an Appendix supplemental Papers, on subjects more or less important connected with the Lectures:—Papers which from their nature required time and careful consideration in preparing; such as, amidst the many and various avocations of a ministerial charge at Brighton, I found it difficult to obtain; and, when obtained, was (it must be confest) not always resolute enough to improve. Let me add that I the more readily acquiesced in the delay hence arising from the desire to see certain Treatises of which I heard from time to time as newly published, or soon forthcoming; in which the prophetic subjects treated of in these Lectures were likely to be discussed, and opinions adverse to my own to be propounded. The latest of

such publications, which I have thus had the advantage of seeing before sending these Lectures into the world, is the Oxford Greek Professor Jowett's Work on some of the Epistles of St. Paul ; including that to the Thesalonians, which contains in it the famous prophecy of the destined *Apostacy* and *Man of Sin*.

In regard of *order*, as well as of *subject*, it will be seen that I have in these Lectures followed out very exactly the directions of Bishop Warburton ; indeed more exactly than any previous Lecturer on the same foundation.¹ The direction in his Will is, that the Lecturers should prove the truth of revealed religion from the fulfilment of Scripture prophecies respecting *the Church* generally, and more especially respecting *the Apostacy of the Church of Rome*. Accordingly I have taken for the successive subjects of my four Triads of Lectures, in the four successive years of my Lectureship, *the Christian Church's primary institution*, *the Church's declension into Apostacy*, *the heading of the Apostate Church by the Romish Antichrist*, and *the counter witness-Church's sackcloth-robed prophesying*, (alike in its long primary depression, and its subsequent strengthening and advance,) all as predicted and as fulfilled :—a notice being added (in order to the completer view of God's purposes respecting the Church) of the final predicted issue of the cause testified to by Christ's witness-Church, in the glories of *the Church triumphant*.

¹ See my abstract of the previous courses of Lectures on this Foundation, given in the Appendix to the present Volume.

It is to be observed that a twofold object is included in the directions laid down by Bishop Warburton for his Lecturers:—the *one* that of demonstrating the fulfilment of Scripture prophecies on the given subjects; the *other* that of convincingly impressing this on the hearers and readers of the Lectures, as evidence of the divine origin of the Christian religion. And it may be well, I think, here to make a few remarks relatively to each of these objects; and the nature of the chief difficulties which, at the present time more especially, may be expected to stand in the way of the Lecturer's successfully accomplishing them.

1. Now, in reference to the *former* of these objects, it is likely that he may be met by a certain jealousy, reasonable in itself, but carried beyond what is reasonable, even to a kind of suspiciousness, lest he should be adjusting the prophecy to the history, or history to the prophecy, in order to make out his case. And hence his primary duty of showing, as clearly as possible, the natural intent of any prophecy under consideration. A point this not always easy of attainment, where the language is figurative and symbolic: but towards which, even then, important, indeed decisive, help may arise from consideration of the context; especially where the prediction is one in a continuous series, and moreover circumstantial and peculiar. Then his next duty will be that of careful accuracy in his historic statements.—All this will, I hope, be found to have been borne in mind, so far

as their narrow limits might permit, in the Lectures following.

Nor, indeed, as regards the prophecy to which the Lectures of my primary Triad relate, concerning *the early Gentile-embracing constitution of the predicted Messianic Church*, do I anticipate much difference of opinion either as to its intent, or its fulfilment. The prophecy is sufficiently clear in itself; and the main subject one on which Christians are agreed. It is on my subsequent Lectures respecting *the great predicted Apostacy*, and its destined head in the *Man of Sin*, or *Antichrist*, that I have to expect, and that from various quarters, and on various grounds, strong adverse prejudices.

It has been to myself a source of the greatest satisfaction, in here fulfilling my office of Warburtonian Lecturer, (a satisfaction not enjoyed by one or two of my predecessors in the Lectureship,) to have had such entire agreement of opinion with Bishop Warburton in reference to the cogency of the evidence for a *Papal* application of St. Paul's and other cognate prophecies about Antichrist, that even his strong language has *hardly* seemed too strong to me, when affirming such fulfilment of those prophecies to be "a proof of the truth of the Christian religion as convincing as any moral matter is capable of receiving."¹ It

¹ "St Paul, speaking in the 2nd of Thessalonians of *Antichrist*, or the *Man of Sin*, reminded the Church of what it was that, as he told them, then yet let or hindered his coming; 'Remember ye what, &c.' I have ever thought the prophecies relating to Antichrist, interspersed up and down the New and Old Testament, the most

is the fashion now-a-days with various theological teachers and writers to decry this view as untrue, and even absurd. And youth, always confiding, and generally too fond of novelties, may be predisposed to imbibe the new doctrines taught; and to suppose the modern teachers to be herein wiser than their forefathers. I believe I have looked into the various counter-views propounded, and into the various objections urged against the old Protestant explanation of the prophecies in question, as much, as carefully, and as candidly as most. But the impression only remains the stronger with me, after every fresh examination of the subject, that the objections are vain: and, as to the several counter-views,—whether of the *Futurist* school, or the *Præterist*, in their many and contrary varieties, that they meet their easy confutation, each and every one, in the stringency of the prophecies themselves. I have felt it right to give specimens of these in my Appendix, from some of the latest publications of the kind that have met my eye. This may suffice to furnish an idea of them to the reader. It will show him how, in their own prophetic schemes, these theorists shrink from the testing: whether in the mists and uncertainties of the future; or in a

convincing proof of the truth of the Christian religion that any moral matter is capable of receiving." Warburton's Works, Vol. xi. p. 347. (Ed. 1811.)

I have used the qualifying word *hardly*, because of regarding the fulfilment of the prophecies about Christ, and perhaps too those about the Jews, as even yet more striking. Moreover I feel strongly that the proof from the moral and spiritual excellence of Christianity is never to be dissociated from that which arises out of the fulfilment of prophecy.

generalizing principle of exposition, which would reduce to nothingness of meaning alike the most striking prophetic symbols and prophetic numbers. They will show too how generally misrepresentation, or else burlesque which is pretty sure to involve misrepresentation, is mixt up with arguments against the old Protestant anti-Papal view of this class of prophecies. —To the same effect is the more copious notice of similar previous anti-Protestant theorists given in the Appendices to my *Horæ Apocalypticæ*. And very sure I am that, had either the one class of prophetic theorists, or the other, lived in the time of the apostles, they might similarly have contested those apostles' application of Old Testament prophecies in proof of the Messiahship of Jesus of Nazareth; the all-important numeral prophecy of the 70 weeks of Daniel, whereby was fixt the time of Messiah's first coming, inclusive.

As a useful guard and caution against prejudices, prior to examination, on this great prophetic subject, let me beg to remind my readers of the mighty minds of past days which have deliberately concluded on the truth of the old Protestant view that the perfected Apostacy and Antichrist of prophecy had their fulfilment in the Papacy and Popes of Rome. And here I have to mention not only the names of *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and other fathers of the Reformation in England, who might be thought warped perhaps in their judgment on the matter by the terrors of the Papacy in their days: but those too of *Jewel*

after them, and the *Translators of our authorized version of the Bible* ; of *Andrewes, Hooker, Usher* ; of *Dr. S. Clarke*, and the profound *Bp. Butler* ; of *Warburton*, as before stated ; and, almost in our own days, of *Van Mildert* and *Davison*. I must confess that, when I think of the greatness of most of these names, (and many more might be added,) whose opinions to this effect stand on record, I feel amazed at the presumption with which sometimes small critics now-a-days, little acquainted evidently with the subject, think to set aside the deliberate judgment of such men by a few flippant remarks, or a superficial critique. Is it likely, let me ask, that such men would have embraced the Protestant view, were there but small evidence in its favour ? Where are there names as many and weighty on the other side ?—There is indeed the name of one really great man, recently past away from us, that might be so cited ;—I mean that of the late *Dr. Arnold*. And, valuing that noble-minded man as I do, notwithstanding his rashness at times, and too great subserviency moreover to unsound theological views imported from Germany, it has always been a peculiar subject of regret to me that he should have expressed an adverse opinion to that which I feel so strongly on this momentous point. In the Appendix to the 4th volume of my *Horæ Apocalypticæ* I have analyzed his Sermons on Prophecy ; and shown, I believe, quite sufficiently that the principle of prophetic interpretation, on which he based his counterviews about Babylon and

Antichrist, is altogether untenable.¹ And very glad am I to find, on reading over again his Life and Correspondence, that *Dr. A.* has himself pronounced in favour of our view, as well as against it; as will be seen by what appears in the Paper at the end of my Appendix. Indeed it is evident, from the citations there given, that he is much more with us than against us.

Before passing to my next head I must observe, with reference to the Lectures of the third Triad, in which *the Apocalyptic prophecy* is my text, that I feel just as strongly now what I felt strongly at the time of preaching, how impossible it is within the narrow limits here given to do any justice to such a subject; and moreover how little suited a mere running prophetic sketch is to a Church Sunday Lecture. I must here only cast myself on the indulgence of my readers; and beg them to remember that it a prophecy on which, from the nature of my thesis, I was absolutely forced to enter, however cursorily. In my larger Work of the *Horæ Apocalypticæ* they will find the proof of every point cursorily mooted in these Lectures to be given as fully and in detail, I believe, as they could desire. And perhaps in the *unity* of the subject, as all relating to the Church, there may be found some little counterbalance to the imperfection necessarily arising from my *brevity* in treating it.

¹ His friend Mr. Price, whose beautiful letter on this subject is inserted by the Revd. A. Stanley in *Dr. A.'s Life and Correspondence*, concurs with me, I have been glad to find, in this opinion of the untenableness of *Dr. A.'s* principle of interpretation.

2. As to the *second* object included in Bishop Warburton's charge to the Lecturers on his Foundation, viz. that of pressing the fulfilment of the Scripture prophecies discussed on the minds and hearts of the hearers, *as evidence of the divine origin of the Christian religion*, I have always felt that the mere proved *fact* of prophetic fulfilments in the history of the past is not of itself sufficient to effect the intended object. The *heart* is the chief seat of conviction; not the *head*, or *intellect*. "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness." And thus *moral* evidence, and *moral* considerations, are absolutely essential in my opinion to any saving conviction of the truth of revealed religion. So feeling I have endeavoured, where I could, to interweave *moral* evidence with the directly *prophetic*; more especially in the three Lectures of my first Triad, and the final Lecture of the whole Course. Which final Lecture, originally preached in an abbreviated form, as part of my 12th Lecture, I have in the preparation for printing much enlarged, and made a Lecture by itself, agreeably with its great importance. I venture to hope that these parts of my Course may be found really helpful to some young and candid inquirers into the divine origin of the gospel. In the 3rd Lecture the moral evidence for the truth of the Gospel is placed, if I mistake not, in a somewhat new point of view; and the question of its divine origin tried by a test not usually applied, though of all perhaps the noblest, viz. its consistency with the glory of Jehovah.

Here the great topic of the *atonement*, on which such poor and lowering speculations have been lately promulged, comes prominently on the arena. How could I do any justice to this part of my subject without entering on it?

May God's blessing rest upon the Lectures, however imperfect!—Very satisfactory is the thought to me that, as the Lectures were delivered at Lincolns' Inn, it is likely that they will be read by many of the members of that learned profession, the studies of which specially tend to qualify them for the just appreciation of arguments on questions of evidence. And very earnestly would I press upon them, in the present critical religious state of our church and nation, carefully and candidly to weigh the evidence here urged for the truth and divine origin of the Christian religion: supplying from my larger work whatever may be wanting in the *prophetic* proof; and with the *prophetic* evidence never forgetting to combine the *moral* and *spiritual*, as address to man's conscience and heart. Let me add that, if the proof of these Lectures be deemed satisfactory, their truth will be found, if I mistake not, to have an important bearing on that of many other of the now-a-days disputed doctrines of Christianity, besides those respecting the great predicted Apostacy, and its heading Antichrist.

Brighton, Feb. 5, 1856.

FIRST TRIAD OF LECTURES.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH'S PRIMARY INSTITUTION,
AS PREDICTED BY ISAIAH, AND AS FULFILLED.

LECTURE I.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH TO BE CONSTITUTED IN THE
MAIN FROM PREVIOUSLY DARK GENTILES OF THE ISLES.

ISAIAH XLII. 5—9.

“THUS SAITH GOD JEHOVAH,—HE THAT CREATED THE HEAVENS,
AND STRETCHED THEM OUT, HE THAT SPREAD FORTH THE EARTH,
AND THAT WHICH COMETH OUT OF IT, HE THAT GIVETH BREATH
UNTO THE PEOPLE UPON IT, AND SPIRIT TO THEM THAT WALK
THEREIN,—I JEHOVAH HAVE CALLED THEE IN RIGHTEOUSNESS ;
AND I WILL HOLD THINE HAND, AND WILL KEEP THEE, AND GIVE
THEE FOR A COVENANT OF THE PEOPLE, FOR A LIGHT OF THE
GENTILES ; TO OPEN THE BLIND EYES, TO BRING OUT THE
PRISONERS FROM THE PRISON, AND THEM THAT SIT IN DARKNESS
OUT OF THE PRISON HOUSE. I AM JEHOVAH ! THAT IS MY NAME :
AND MY GLORY WILL I NOT GIVE TO ANOTHER, NEITHER MY
PRAISE TO GRAVEN IMAGES. BEHOLD, THE FORMER THINGS ARE
COME TO PASS, AND NEW THINGS DO I DECLARE : BEFORE THEY
SPRING FORTH I TELL YOU OF THEM.”

THE duty enjoined on me as Warburtonian Lec-
turer, is “ to prove the truth of revealed religion in
general, and of the Christian in particular, *from the*
completion of [certain] prophecies in the Old and New
Testaments :” viz. of those “ which relate to the Chris-

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tian Church;” and those too “which relate to *the apostacy of Papal Rome.*” A twofold subject as thus enunciated; but which, in Bishop Warburton’s view, and I doubt not in reality, is essentially one. For *the Church visible*, in main part, (though still bearing the Christian name) declined by degrees into *anti-christian apostacy*; and at length, in completion of that apostacy, took for its head, at least in the old Roman world, the Popes or Bishops of Rome; i. e. ANTICHRIST, in the place of CHRIST.—It is my purpose in the ensuing Course of Lectures to adhere very strictly to the thesis thus propounded to me, hoping thus best to promote the Founder’s object: and the rather because of its peculiar suitableness and importance at the present time; when so much is talked and written about *the Church*; and so much depends on a right view of what is really *Christ’s Church*, and of what is told in the Holy Scriptures concerning both it and its counterfeit.—Accordingly, in my 1st Triad of Lectures I propose to consider THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH’S PRIMARY INSTITUTION; in my 2nd, THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH APOSTATIZING; in my 3rd, THE COMPLETED CHURCH APOSTACY UNDER THE PAPAL ANTICHRIST; in my 4th, CHRIST’S BROKEN WITNESS-CHURCHES, antagonistic against the APOSTACY, before, at, and after the REFORMATION: (all as predicted in Holy Scripture, and as fulfilled:)—concluding with the assured prospect of the final successful issue of this witness-cause in the CHURCH TRIUMPHANT of the coming future. So God’s grand scheme

respecting the CHURCH will come, as a whole, under our review in these Lectures : and much too, from time to time, of the never-to-be-forgotten *moral* evidence of divine inspiration, which in Scripture prophecy will continually be found interwoven with that from the fulfilment of prediction in fact. LECT.
I.

In my present and 1st Triad it is THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH'S PRIMARY INSTITUTION that I have to consider.—And for this the prophetic passage just read from Isaiah seems to furnish a very suitable text. In it, taking up the thread of that great primeval promise of a Deliverer made to Adam after his fall, “The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent’s head,”—a promise never lost sight of afterwards in divinely-inspired Scripture prophecy, and which was the germ of all subsequent promises,—Isaiah predicts, 1st, the *population* out of which the Church, or chosen covenant-people, of the great promised Deliverer, would, when he came, be primarily and mainly formed ; viz. not *Jews*, but *Gentiles* ; specially (as is exprest in verses 4 and 12) Gentiles of “ *the isles*,” or those round the Mediterranean :¹ of whom it was

¹ “The sons of *Japhet*,—Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and *Javan*, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras : . . . and the sons of *Javan*,—Elishah, and Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim. By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands.” So Gen. x. 2, 4, 5.

The fact of *Japhet* having been the father of a large proportion of the ancient Greek population is testified to by the old Greek traditions about *Japetus*.—As to the four sons of *Javan*, Vitranga on Is. xxiii. 1 (Vol. i. p. 674) expresses his opinion that *Elishah* was the father of the *Greeks of Elis and the Peloponnesus* ; *Tharsis* of the *Spaniards* ; *Dodanim*, or *Rhodanim*, of the *Gauls* as distinguished from the Celts ; and *Céthim* (or *Chittim*) of the people of *Italy*. The writer of the

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here further declared that, down to the very time of their calling, they would continue involved in religious and moral darkness and thralldom, like as of a prison-house :—2ndly, *the agency* whereby they would be enlightened and formed into a Church in covenant with God, viz. that of God's own anointed commissioner for the purpose, called hence the *Messiah*, or *Christ*.¹—3rdly, how, notwithstanding this *his* agency, the glory of their deliverance, and consequent admission into the covenant, would, nevertheless, from first to last, be that of God JEHOVAH alone ;—“ I am JEHOVAH ; and my glory will I not give to another.” Altogether the subject thus sketched out will furnish ample matter for the triad of Lectures to be given this winter season.

For the present it is the first point of the three which proposes itself for our consideration ; viz. the predicted fact of its being from *Gentiles of the isles* that God's Church would, on Messiah's coming, be chiefly constituted ; and of their state, down to that moment of God's own interposition through the Messiah, continuing to be that of *mental darkness and bondage*. So Isaiah : “ I will give *thee* (the Messiah) for a light of the *Gentiles* : to open the blind eyes ; to bring out the prisoners from the prison ; and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house.”

first Book of Maccabees (i. 1.) prefers to understand *Chittim* of the *Greeks* ; Jerome, on Dan. xi. 30, of the *Italians* or *Romans*.

In Hebrew the word יָם means alike the *Sea* and the *West* : showing that by “ the isles ” was meant specially the maritime countries of the great Western or Mediterranean sea.

¹ Is. xlii. 1 (Chald.) ; also Is. lxi. 1, Ps. lxxxix. 20, Dan. ix. 24, &c.

And then pointedly, as if there might have been previous attempts by other persons to do the work, and to contest the glory with him, "I am Jehovah; and I will not give my glory to another."—Such is the prophecy. Did it then receive fulfilment? Did the spiritual state of the Gentiles around the Mediterranean, in Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, until *Christ's* coming, continue to be such as is described? Were attempts made on any notable scale before Christ's advent to enlighten and emancipate them? And were all those attempts in vain? Thus we enter at once on various questions connected with the Christian Church's origin, and therefore such as the founder of this Lecture suggested for consideration; whereon to test by historic fact the truth or falsehood of the Scripture prophecy before us.

LECT.

I.

Ere proceeding further, however, it seems right, Brethren, that I should at once bespeak your indulgence for entering on a course of illustration of my subject unusual in pulpit addresses, and for the most part unbefitting. For I purpose asking you to accompany me in a rapid glance at a series of efforts made in successive generations after Isaiah, by men and sects of the Gentile world the most renowned in their day for wisdom; the avowed object of which was the enlightenment and emancipation of the human mind, in the countries we speak of, from its intellectual darkness and thralldom in respect of religious truth: efforts made at a time anticipative of that marked out by the prophet; and by quite other

FIRST TRIAD. agency, their own, instead of God's. My reasons for so doing are such as will, I trust, be judged satisfactory:—first, because a Lecture on any branch of the evidences of revealed religion belongs to a class of sermons peculiar, and to which ordinary rules should not be applied in their strictness: secondly, because the audience which I am privileged to address is not a common audience, but one peculiarly qualified by education and intellectual attainments to enter intelligently into the subject I have to speak of: thirdly, because in that clause in my instructions, “to prove the truth of revealed religion,” the case seems suggested of certain hearers or readers of the Lectures that may be sceptically inclined on the great subject of revelation. Now he who knows anything of human nature must be aware that on questions of religious truth alike scepticism and belief are matters in which the *heart* is concerned, as well as the *head*. And few things seem better fitted to overcome *à priori* hostile prejudices, and to predispose a candid though naturally sceptical mind to a solemn, earnest, anxious consideration of the more direct evidences of the religion revealed by Christ Jesus from heaven, than to see palpably stereotyped on the world's historic page, not merely the fulfilment of this particular prediction by Isaiah, but in it also the sad and solemn fact of man's utter impotency of himself to discover divine truth. Assuredly it must be allowed that a fairer testing of man's unassisted powers on this head could not have been than in the case on which Isaiah's

prophecy implied their utter failure. On the one hand by a singular Providence, unlike to the great Eastern kingdoms of Nineveh and Babylon, these isles of the Gentiles were in Isaiah's time, and for near four centuries after, altogether insulated from acquaintance with the Jews and the Jews' religion;¹ albeit that the adjoining countries of Phœnicia and Egypt were well known to their mariners, merchants, and philosophers: so that in the search after truth the Gentile mind was left pretty much (just as in a fair testing case would be required) to its own resources. On the other hand never was there a people in which those resources of the natural mind seemed greater than the Greek inhabitants of the countries of the Mediterranean; never any of superior intelligence and ingenuity: besides that they possess a language the most perfect perhaps ever known, as the vehicle, expression, and indeed, one might almost say, help to thought. Moreover the period allowed them in God's providence for the trial (as the event proved) was not a mere brief passing period; but one of some 700 years, from Isaiah to Christ.

Turn we then now to those Gentiles of the Western coasts of the Mediterranean.—Already, ere Isaiah finished his course of prophesying,² the chief cities in Greece Proper, such as Lacedæmon and Corinth, Thebes and Athens, had in considerable measure

¹ This ignorance may be illustrated by reference to Homer, and even to Herodotus. "On ne prouvera jamais que les Grecs ont connu le peuple des Juifs avant le regne d' Alexandre." Larcher vii. 285.

² This was probably near about B.C. 700.

FIRST TRIAD. assumed their forms of pre-eminence, and consolidated their power and earlier political institutions ; while the Delphic oracle and the Olympic games, the latter instituted some 70 or 80 years before,) furnished common centres to the Greeks alike of nationality and of religion. With them were associated in bonds of closest intimacy the cities of kindred origin and language on the Western coast of Asia Minor ; of which many also had at this time attained to high opulence and prosperity :—insomuch indeed that as well the Asiatic Greek cities, as those of Greece Proper, were then sending out colonies to the coasts northward and westward ;¹ colonies destined to rise very soon to much of the prosperity and opulence of the mother cities.—At this time Homer's poems were sung by numerous bards on the continent and in the islands ; and had not only made his mythology familiar to all, but almost fixed the mythological religion of Greece :² while Orpheus' hymns and Hesiod's theogonies embodied the broken traditionary stories that had travelled down to the Greeks from preceding times, with more or less addition of fable ; traditions respecting the primeval formation of our earth from black night and chaos, and a happy golden age of man in the first instance, followed by others of continually increasing degeneracy and evil. These were stories that could not but excite the more inquisitive and reflective in

¹ e. g. of Syracuse, Crotona, and Tarentum from Corinth and Lacedæmon, between 730 and 700 B.C. ; of sundry colonies on the Euxine (as Sinope, Apollonia, &c.) from Miletus and other Ionian cities, between 700 and 600 B.C., and Marseilles B.C. 539. ² Herod. ii. 53.

mind that heard them. And accordingly, ere the opening of the 6th Century before Christ a direct philosophic movement of mind had begun in the Ionian cities, and some of the adjacent islands; the object of which was the discovery of divine truth, and the result the establishment of the IONIC and ITALIC schools of wisdom:—schools founded respectively by Thales of Miletus, and Pythagoras, first of Samos, afterwards of Crotona; and of which the former was perpetuated, after Thales, by the teachings of Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, and Archelaus'; in the other by teachers less famous after Pythagoras: till at length Socrates' great name stands out by itself at the head of the philosophers about B.C. 410; and afterwards, some three centuries and a half later, that of Cicero.

And what then, we ask, was the result? What the discoveries in divine truth by all these successive and continuous efforts of human wisdom? Let us see.

It was *external nature* that was the special object of the researches of the earliest IONICS. Whence and how originated its fabric, so organized, so full of life, so beautiful, and yet not perfect? This was the question for their solving. The idea of two quite different principles suggested itself; one passive, the other active; viz. matter, and that which animated the matter:—the former originally, they taught, in the form of chaos, whether aerial, watery, or atomic; the latter so mixt up with the material world, and so infused into its very essence, as in fact to constitute

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part of it; the world being a thing *εμψυχον*, or animated, God its animating soul. So taught *Thales*,¹ and the three or four chief teachers in his school next following: till, at length, *Anaxagoras* wholly distinguished between the two principles; and defined God to be the mind, unmixed and pure from all material concretion, that orders all, and is the cause of all.² This seemed an important step of advance to truth on the great question before them. Yet his disciples hesitated at adopting it. Of these one, named *Dio- genes of Apollonia*, reverted to the theory of an infinite primeval ether, animated with the divine mind; and that so all things were formed from this compound principle. With respect to another, *Archelaus*, it is held doubtful what he believed about God; whether as an independent immaterial all-forming mind, or as a compound principle of infinite matter animated by a divine spirit. Such was in brief the first phase of the Greek Ionic philosophy, in its researches about nature and God. On the great questions concerning man,—why so cut off from intercourse with the mighty Spirit breathing around and within him,—why with such tendencies to shun the good suggested by reason, and choose the evil,—what the mode of attaining moral amelioration and virtue, what of assuring

¹ Thales fl. B.C. 610—560, Anaximenes 530, Anaxagoras, 460, Archelaus 445.

² ὁ δὲ νῆς ὁ διακοσμῶν τε καὶ παντῶν αἰτίας. Plutarch says; “The Ionic philosophers before Anaxagoras made positive or blind necessity, i.e. the fortuitous or necessary motion of particles of matter, the first principle in nature: but Anaxagoras affirmed that a pure mind, free from all material concretions, governed the universe.”

happiness after death,—on these great subjects apparently the Ionic philosophy spoke not. And yet it had been busy in its speculations and its searchings for a full century and a half; from Thales' first founding of the school, down to the time of Archelaus' giving lessons to Socrates. LECT.
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Meanwhile however *Pythagoras*,¹ in his school that was called *ITALIC* after that philosopher's removal from Samos to Crotona in Southern Italy, had to his more intimate and esoteric disciples broken silence on some of these points. He too, (if we may credit reports that were not committed to writing till some considerable time after his death, about doctrines that had been orally inculcated by Pythagoras very much under the mystery of symbols,) taught of God, that He was the soul of the universe; a soul primevally united with it as one; then at length detaching itself, as this material world took visible shape:—and that from this soul of the world, gods, demons, and heroes were emanations, some inhabiting and animating the sun, some the moon, stars, and air; each human soul too being a portion of it, so as that man with his combined soul and body was like a *microcosm*, or miniature universe. It was his doctrine further that the great object of wisdom with man is assimilation to the Divinity; that he might thus and thereby be prepared to join the assembly of the gods: and that in order to this there needed to be the practice of virtues, such as silence, sobriety, fortitude, abstinence

¹ Fl. about B.C. 530.

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from animal food, prudence, friendship, reverence to the dead, and worship too of gods and heroes, with their different degrees of homage ; also the contemplation of abstract truth, such as the mysteries of numbers, the monad, (that emblem of the Deity,) and duad, and triad, the harmony of the spheres, and other such things : for which latter object a collegiate life seemed most desirable ; such as of the 600 Pythagoreans in the College instituted by himself at Crotona.¹ Then, as to man's state after death, that, after remaining awhile in the regions of the dead, the soul would be sent back to this world to be the inhabitant of some other body, brutal or human ; (an alternative regulated according to its previous improvement of life ;) and, after suffering successive purgations, would be received at length among the gods, and return to the eternal source whence it had first proceeded,—Pythagoras profest to have higher authority than human for the truth of his doctrine and of his mission. He had received communications from the oracle of Apollo at Delos, and from the prophet-priests of Jupiter in the cave of the Cretan mount Ida. From time to time he had retired to a cave in Samos, alone or with a few of his earlier intimate disciples, in search after the deeper mysteries of nature ; and had returned to the upper world with marks on his very visage of some unearthly intercourse. In proof of the transmigration of souls he reported his own personal reminiscences of one and another indi-

¹ His *κοινωβιον*, or *δρακοιον*.

vidual of bygone ages, whom his soul in those bygone ages had animated.—A veneration of him, as of some LECT.
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But now to *Socrates*.—And assuredly, whatever the Satirist¹ might find to say in burlesque of him on his earlier exercise of the profession of a public teacher, never does the Greek mind seem to have advanced so far as in his case towards the recognition of moral and religious truths that were really important to mankind. For Socrates felt deeply the futility of such speculations in the dark about nature, as characterized the teachings of the Ionic, and, in very great measure too, of the Italic or Pythagorean school. Man’s happiness, he judged, ought to be the great object of philosophy: and as this could only rightly be sought in the exercise of practical wisdom and virtue, it was *these* that were the burden of his discourse. “He was the first,” said Cicero, “who brought down phi-

¹ Aristophanes.

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losophy from heaven to earth, to instruct man about life and morals." ¹—Not that his aversion from the vain physical and theological speculations of his philosophizing predecessors led him to inculcate his precepts of moral virtue, irrespective of, and without reference to, the Deity. By no means. He felt and taught about the Deity, so as none others had done before him; not even excepting Anaxagoras. From visible nature, Socrates travelled up to nature's God. Himself invisible, God was yet, he taught, to be seen in his works:—his greatness, wisdom, goodness; and moreover his constant universal benevolent Providence. Can *your* eye, argued he, see distant objects; *your* mind contemplate distant countries; yet God not see all the universe? He sees all things, hears all things, is everywhere present, and constantly superintends all events. Himself the good and the beautiful, he is the source of all elsewhere that is good and morally beautiful.² And what accordingly his law? What but this;—the first principles of virtue recognized by all mankind. The very circumstance of such general recognition of them by men was itself the proof of that law's divinity: and this fact also, that whereas an offender against human laws might often escape the penalty attached to their infraction, an offender against the divine law (so defined) could not. For example, no man could be unjust, no man ungrateful, without suffering for it.³—It was well made, this appeal to

¹ Tusc. Disput. v. 4.

² Xenoph. Memor. i. 4, 17, 18.

³ Ib. iv. 4, 21, 24.

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internal moral evidence ; and well too the appeal to the general conscience of mankind. Yet I need not suggest how imperfect was both the definition of the divine law, in practising which man was to seek his happiness ; and how imperfect too the witness appealed to by Socrates of universal consent, as its authority and sanction. And then what as to that innate resistance to the good too generally felt in man's nature ; and tendency to, and preference for, the evil ? Whence originated this moral perverseness in it, if God were all-good, all-wise, almighty ? And what the help, and what the motives and hopes, to encourage man to overcome it ? On these points Socrates had nothing certain to teach. The question of the *origin of evil* was one on which the vain speculations of preceding philosophers, whether of the Ionic or Italic school, might well suffice to make him shun the venture. For help and encouragement he no doubt judged that a sincere seeker of truth and virtue might hopefully look to the Deity. And there was the hopeful expectation moreover set before man of the soul's immortality after death, and of a reward of happiness then at length to be awarded to the virtuous. But none felt so much as Socrates himself the want of clearer evidence on these questions of vital moment to man. On the morning of his death,¹ before drinking the fatal poison, he had a gathering of his chief disciples and friends around him ; and held discourse with them on *the immortality of the soul* :—that same discourse

¹ B.C. 399.

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that is reported to us at large in Plato's *Phædo*. It was the hope of this, he said, that was his grand support and cheering in the hour of trial. But what his grounds for believing in it? He argued thus:—that the soul was indivisible, and therefore incapable of dissolution; a principle too of motion, and therefore necessarily indestructible:—that in nature there seemed to be a law of vicissitudes, all things ending in their contraries; as sleeping in waking, waking in sleeping, life in death; whence by analogy it was presumable that death would have life to succeed it. Moreover in the *Phædo* it is argued (but this I cannot but suppose to be Plato's own argument, not that of Socrates, and so thinking shall revert to it again when speaking of *Plato's* philosophy) that the soul had reminiscences of ideas contemplated in a prior state of existence; and that its having existed before life in this world was an argument for its existing after life. Such are the chief Socratic arguments for the soul's immortality, as recorded in the *Phædo*. No wonder that Socrates should have confessed that he held his hope about it not unmixt with doubt. And so again, with regard to erring man's obtaining favour with the Deity, and God's fulfilment of his prayers and desires, he seems to have felt similar doubt and uncertainty. Should Alcibiades sacrifice, on a particular occasion, to the gods? was the question put to him by that celebrated man, then young and his disciple. And his answer was,—that such uncertainty seemed to exist as to the consequences of the fulfilment

of our prayers, if granted us, whether ultimately for good or for evil, and such also to the feelings of the gods about sacrifice, and towards ourselves, (for Socrates inculcated belief in inferior gods, or demons,) whether propitious, or hostile,—that he thought the inquirer might do well to postpone the sacrifice and the prayer, *until some one commissioned from heaven should come* to reveal God's mind about the matter to us: there being added the extraordinary and almost prophetic affirmation; “And I think he will come, and that before long.”¹ His very ignorance (that of which he so often spoke, when saying, “I know but one thing only, and that is, that I know nothing,”) seemed like the prophetic cry of nature's distress within him; a cry, he thought, which He who was the God of nature would not despise.

We pass from Socrates to Socrates' most eminent disciple *Plato*. And surely if genius and learning, with every such advantage and assistance as the world could furnish, might suffice for the discovery of divine truth, then might we expect that here at length we should find one that would be a light to his Gentile countrymen; and fulfil the office that had been distinctively assigned by the Jewish prophet to another and quite different teacher. But oh! what a disappointment awaits him who may enter on the study of Plato's philosophy with any such expectations! The disciple in early years of Socrates, and a traveller for years after his master's death in various countries,

¹ Alcibiades' reply; but accepted by Socrates. See Plato's Alcibiades.

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¹ Alcibiades' reply; but accepted by Socrates. See Plato's Alcibiades.

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(more especially in Egypt and Southern Italy,) professedly in search of truth, behold him at length opening his school in the groves of the Athenian Academus: with invitation to his countrymen to attend his teaching; and there “inter sylvas Academi quærere verum,”—in those Academic groves to seek truth. But, instead of advance beyond Socrates, we find, on most points of high interest, a decided retrogradation. The modest consciousness of ignorance that Socrates exprest appears not here. What his master shrunk from expounding, as beyond the range of man’s intellect, Plato defined and taught. But how? Very much by adopting, combining, or varying the vain speculations of the old Ionic or Pythagorean professors of wisdom.—Again the old physical question of the formation of the universe and man was encountered by him; and again, for its resolution, he resorted to the two principles. From nothing nothing could originate. This was a fundamental dogma with Plato. And it was applied by him as well to the *material* as to the *efficient cause*. There must therefore have been two principles, both alike eternal and independent principles, *God* and *matter*: the latter originally unformed, incorporeal, chaotic; the former all intellectual, all good, all wise.¹ It was Plato’s theory that the eternal God had enwrapt in his own divine *vous*, or intelligence, ideas or patterns of all things afterwards executed, ideas eternal as the mind that contained them: these being not immaterial, but *ovtwc*

¹ See Plato’s *Timæus*.

οντα, realities ; and indeed the only veritable realities, as compared with the shadowy fleeting forms of worldly existences. The time having come for the shaping and formation of the universe, God fashioned it out of the primeval matter according to these ideas, or patterns : and infused into it an animating soul of mixt character, in part divine, in part material ; a part thereof being detached from it to inhabit, and be the animating principle of, human bodies. And hence the solution of that mighty enigma, *the existence of evil*, in the works of a benevolent and all-wise Creator. There was in primeval matter a certain necessarily blind and refractory force, a *ξυμφυτος επιθυμια*, or innate propensity to evil : and from its admixture, alike in the soul of the world and the souls of men, there thence proceeded all the imperfection that was apparent in external nature ; and thence all the depravity and the miseries to which man is liable. On this head Platonism was but anticipated Manicheism.—And what the means and mode of man's attaining to a better state ? It was by recognizing the imprisonment of the soul in its bodily dwelling-house, said Plato ; and rising above sensible objects to the world of truth, intelligence, idea, and to the contemplation of the great first cause, God. So the soul would become disposed to virtue ; and prepared after death to return to its celestial source and more proper habitation.—Of Plato's arguments for the soul's immortality I have already spoken, when abstracting his report of those of Socrates. For doubtless Plato adopted, as he related,

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his master's. Let me repeat however that the particular argument from the soul's pre-existence, as known from reminiscences of things supposed to have been seen or felt before birth into this world, seems rather to have been that of Plato than Socrates. For it formed part and parcel of the Pythagorean system : which system Plato studied and borrowed from ; but with which Socrates' mind had little affinity. Very beautifully has a venerable living poet¹ exprest the notion :—

Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting :
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar.
Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God who is our home.
Heaven lies around us in our infancy.
Shades of the prison-house begin to close
Upon the growing boy.
Yet he beholds the light, and whence it flows ;
He sees it in his joy.

It is beautiful as poetry. But how sad his case who rests on such theories of supposed reminiscences of a pre-existent state in childhood, as a point of evidence too important to be overlooked for the immortality of the soul !

I must just touch on the PERIPATETIC, STOIC, and EPICUREAN schools of philosophy, as they were schools so famous in history, ere I pass finally to

¹ Wordsworth. His death occurred soon after the delivery of this Lecture.

Cicero. But it may be done quite succinctly, and with reference only to their more peculiar tenets.

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As to the first-mentioned, and its great founder *Aristotle*, who that knows anything of his cosmogonic and theological doctrines but knows that in them he did but darken counsel, and dishonour the Deity? It was out of a primeval matter that the universe, a universe spherical and finite, was formed: the earth, itself immoveable, being the centre of motion, round which all the higher spheres revolved; and the highest sphere, or *primum mobile*, eternal and immutable, as well as its mover. Then, as to the first mover there resident, it was the simple energy of pure intelligence; the efficient cause, by mere volition, of all natural motion, the Being of Beings, God. So did Aristotle resemble God to the moving though conscious main-spring of a vast machine; and he taught moreover that, in so doing, God acted not voluntarily, but necessarily. It was his doctrine further that fixed to that highest sphere, without the attribute of immensity or omnipresence, and occupied eternally in the contemplation of his own nature, God neither beheld, nor had care for, what might pass among the inhabitants of this inferior portion of the universe; and was consequently not a proper object of worship to mankind. So, I say, taught Aristotle, the intellectual Aristotle:—he of whom, when not attendant on the Academy, Plato was wont to say, “*Intellect* is absent.”

In *Zeno's* Stoic school, formed very soon after Aristotle's, and which assembled for its sittings in the

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painted portico, or *στοα* at Athens, there was propounded in its physics still the old theory of two co-eternal principles, the active and the passive, *God* and *matter*: with this difference however from the Academic doctrine that, whereas Plato distinguished the soul infused into the material universe from God's own soul, the Stoics identified them: the whole conjointly constituting in their view an *ὅληα ἐμφυλῆος καὶ αἰσθητικῆς*, or animated sentient subsistence; the animating soul itself being material, though not of gross matter, but pure ether. But how did they then account for the origin of evil; seeing that on matter, being part of God himself, the charge of originating it could no longer with any reason be laid. Their dogma was this, that it arose from FATE: Fate being an eternal necessity, from the concatenation of cause and consequence; to which all things were subject, and even God himself.—There was also this peculiarity of doctrine, with many at least of the Stoic teachers, in regard of a future state, that the soul's immortality consisted in its perpetual renovation, or reissuing into the same or similar bodies, in a fated circuit of cycles; a reissuing at each renovation of universal nature, after previous destruction either by fire or by water, on the revolution of the Great Year.

As to Zeno's rival and antagonist *Epicurus*, without entering on his well-known theory of the world's formation from the fortuitous concourse of atoms, or his moral theory of *pleasure* being the great object for man's pursuit, (an object which he said, as we should

remember, was to be found only in wisdom and virtue, though his followers afterwards abused the doctrine to licentiousness) suffice it on the present occasion to observe, that he denied God's Providential government of the world. The prevalence of evil was the difficulty in the way of his believing it. "Either the Deity wills against evil," said Epicurus, with reference to the Providential theory, "but cannot accomplish his will; or he can, but wills not; or he neither wills nor can; or he both wills and can :¹ which last hypothesis is alone agreeable to the idea of God. But then if so, and *God be really present and superintending*, why all this evil prevalent in the world? The prevalence of the evil gave the lie to the doctrine of a divine all-superintending Providence.

So these, the most famous of all the Greek schools of wisdom, rose successively on the mundane scene, the two last-mentioned some little time after the death of Alexander the Great: and they were all perpetuated in Greece by a series of philosophers professing them, through the next two centuries.—Meanwhile the *Roman* dominion had extended over Greece and over the East; and Rome itself, the world's political centre, became at length the centre and most favourite seat also of the Greek philosophy. For so it happened, or rather was ordered by God's Providence, that just as the era of Gentile darkness referred to in our text was drawing to a close, some

¹ So Epicurus, as cited by Lactantius, Div. Inst. vii. 13.—See too Lucret. ii. 167.

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600 years after Isaiah himself, and scarce more than half a century before the advent of JESUS,—the Messiah of whom Isaiah wrote,—there appeared on the world's theatre at Rome that extraordinary man, *Marcus Tullius Cicero* ; whose capacious mind, besides all its other attainments, became the most perfect proficient in, and eloquent expounder of, the collective wisdom of the philosophy of Greece. It was as if to exhibit to the world, just before HE that should come to be its light did come, an illustration the most striking of the still enduring religious darkness and thralldom of the Gentile mind, predicted by Isaiah ; as also of the utter impotence of any agency that human intelligence could furnish to deliver man from it. There are many doubtless here present who have mused with deep interest on his philosophic Treatises ; —the “*De Naturâ Deorum*,” and “*De Finibus*,” the “*Tusculan*” and “*Academic Questions*,” and some others : these being the records of animated conversational discussions that he had taken pleasure in holding with the chief living masters of each philosophic sect near him, in his delightful villas at Tusculum and Baiæ. And with no little pleasure will they have read the admirable arguments there so eloquently urged, after the true Socratic model, for the existence of a Deity eternal, almighty, immaterial, all-wise, all-good ; (arguments drawn alike from God's works in nature, and from the general consent of mankind ;) and also those about that other great doctrine of the immortality of the human soul. But was there a word

added by Cicero of real effective information on other doctrines equally essential to man's welfare, and on which his predecessors had confest their ignorance by silence:—more especially as to those two questions, how a mind conscious within itself of guilt may gain forgiveness of the Deity; and how a mind conscious within itself of depraved and vicious propensities may gain the victory over them, and a better nature? Not a word. Nay, even as to the great cardinal doctrines above mentioned, in which he profest belief, about God and a future state after death, was there any new argument or authority discovered by him? Not so. He fully and fairly set forth objections without appending adequate answers, as if unable to give them: confest that belief could not be without some doubt mingling with it; and, in fact, that he attached himself by preference to that section of Platonism styled the *New Academy*, because that by it there was most clearly profest that man's belief in such subjects is grounded not on certainty, but only on probabilities.¹—And very affecting it is to see how, when he most needed consolation from religious faith, doubts most interfered to rob him of it. For Cicero's earthly course, like that of many others, grew darker towards its close. The Republic in which he had borne so distinguished a part, and with which the honours that had been gained by him, in measure far beyond his contemporaries, were each and every one mixt up, had now passed away, and been superseded by the military

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¹ De Off. ii. 2, Tusc. iv. 4, &c.

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dictatorship of Cæsar. Then the daughter of his heart's devoted love, Tullia, in whose charming society and affection he had sought relief from public disappointment, was snatched from him by premature and sudden death. It was like the case of our own great philosophic orator, on the death of his only son.¹ But Burke had Christian topics of consolation, which to Cicero were wanting. His many friends wrote letters of comfort ; but they fell coldly on him. How could they but do so ? Take that one from among them all by S. Sulpicius, which was most celebrated amongst the ancients, and indeed as a master-piece. What were the suggestions in it ? It urged on the bereaved one the comparative insignificance of a daughter's loss, after the loss of the republic ; and told too of the ruined greatness of Corinth, Athens, and other once celebrated Greek cities which the writer had lately been visiting, to strengthen the impression of its insignificance : then, touching a more kindred chord, spoke of the vanity of life to Tullia, had life been prolonged ; and added, "*Besides, if there be any sense in the dead, how concerned must she be to see you thus afflict yourself.*" Cicero fled from such miserable comforters. And in solitary musings he dwelt on the recollection of her virtues ; and then on that cherished doctrine of the Socratic philosophy, that the souls of men were of heavenly extraction, and that the pure and chaste, at their separation from the body, returned to the fountain whence they were

¹ See Burke's Works, Vol. viii. 46 ; Letter to a Noble Lord.

derived: in which case the really cheering thought presented itself that his beloved daughter was with the gods.¹—As it proved, scarce two years more of life after this epoch of his bereavement remained to Cicero himself: and, as they past on, the clouds still gathered more darkly round him. How could this consist with the Providential ordering of all things by an all-wise benevolent God? His letters to Atticus speak the doubts that now ever and anon suggested themselves on this head. And other letters tell too how, in looking forward to death, he was unable assuringly to realize the fact of the soul's immortality; and how the hypothesis forced itself upon him that death after all might very possibly be annihilation.² At any rate, even in the latter case, there would at least be no more pain, or sorrow of mind, such as he was here experiencing. And even this was something.—So, when the soldiers of the bloodthirsty Triumvirs pursued him through the woods of his Caietan Villa, where he had sought a temporary refuge, he bade the bearers of his litter stop: and then stretched his head out from it, bared to the sword of the assassin; as one weary of life, but all in the dark as to what would await him after death.³—His crumbling monument still stands on that fatal spot, hard by the Mola di Gaeta; in mournful contrast to the exquisite beauty of the surrounding scenery. And surely to an intelligent mind it may well seem like a sepulchral monument,

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¹ See on all this, Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, Sect. viii.² See the citations in Middleton, Sect. xii.³ B.C. 43.

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not alone of the mighty heart which there ceased its beatings, but of Heathen Philosophy too, as impersonated in its fairest Gentile form, which, with all the vain hopes excited by it, there lay entombed with him. And what the suitable inscription? Methinks on the one side, considering how hopelessly men still sate in darkness and in the shadow of death, we might suppose this sentence written, "The world by wisdom knew not God:" and on the other side this; "The creation groaning and travailing, even until now, waiteth with earnest expectation for the manifestation of the Son of God."¹

So had the first point in the prophecy that we were to consider been fulfilled. So, for above 600 years from the time of Isaiah's delivering it, had the character continued to attach to the isles of the Gentiles, as he predicted it would, of hopeless blindness in regard of divine truth, even as of men sitting in darkness and the prison-house.²—But was this all the prophecy? Thank God! there was also a declaration in it of something better to come. The Creator of man, and of the world, could not so leave his creatures,—his own creatures, to despair. Listen to the announcement:—and oh how magnificent does the introductory sentence sound in our ears, after all the miserable speculations we have been contemplating about the world's

¹ I have ventured here to accommodate St. Paul's noble statement to my subject, by changing his "*sons of God*" into *son*, and referring it to Christ's *first*; instead of his *second advent*.

² I have generally consulted Enfield's abstract of Brucker, in my brief sketches of the tenets of the Greek philosophers.

formation, and God, and man, and matter! “ Thus saith God JEHOVAH, (i. e. God the Self-existent One,) LECT.
I. He that created the heavens and stretched them out, he that spread forth the earth and that which cometh out of it, he that giveth breath unto the people upon it, and spirit to them that walk therein,—I Jehovah have called *thee* in righteousness; and I will hold *thine* hand, and keep *thee*, and give *thee* for a covenant of the people, for a light to the Gentiles; to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house. I am JEHOVAH: that is my name: and my glory will I not give to another.” About forty years after the death of Cicero there was born into this world at Bethlehem One who professed to be the Person foretold by Isaiah, as the divinely-commissioned agent for imparting spiritual light and emancipation to the Gentiles of the isles. Was there then evidence of *his* being really *the person predicted*? And did *he really* do in this matter what all that long line of philosophers had failed of doing: and moreover constitute a select community, or church, in covenant relationship with God, and with himself, from out of the Gentiles thus enlightened and emancipated; thereby fulfilling the *second* main point here predicted by Isaiah? This is the next point for consideration; and will form the subject of my second Lecture.

LECTURE II.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH'S GENTILE CONSTITUENTS TO
BE ENLIGHTENED BY CHRIST.

ISAIAH XLII. 5—8.

FIRST TRIAD. "THUS SAITH GOD JEHOVAH,—HE THAT CREATED THE HEAVENS,
AND STRETCHED THEM OUT, HE THAT SPREAD FORTH THE EARTH,
AND THAT WHICH COMETH OUT OF IT, HE THAT GIVETH BREATH
UNTO THE PEOPLE UPON IT, AND SPIRIT TO THEM THAT WALK
THEREIN,—I JEHOVAH HAVE CALLED THEE IN RIGHTEOUSNESS ;
AND I WILL HOLD THINE HAND, AND WILL KEEP THEE, AND GIVE
THEE FOR A COVENANT OF THE PEOPLE, FOR A LIGHT OF THE
GENTILES ; TO OPEN THE BLIND EYES, TO BRING OUT THE
PRISONERS FROM THE PRISON, AND THEM THAT SIT IN DARKNESS
OUT OF THE PRISON HOUSE. I AM JEHOVAH ; THAT IS MY NAME :
AND MY GLORY WILL I NOT GIVE TO ANOTHER."

"DID any one, answering to the character here given of God's own intended delegate for the deliverance of fallen man, ever appear upon this mundane scene, and do for the Gentiles of the Mediterranean (as Isaiah predicted he would) what all their philosophers for 700 years had failed of doing,—viz. to open their blind eyes to divine truth, and from those that were thus brought out of the darkness of their former prison-house to constitute to himself a peculiar people, or Church?"—such was the question with which my last Lecture concluded ; and which in the present Lecture I have to answer in the

affirmative, by reference of course to the person and history of JESUS OF NAZARETH, and his apostles. LECT.
II.
 The proof of this it may be well to draw out under two separate heads:—1st, shewing *generally* that Jesus was the very delegate and deliverer here predicted, as well as in multitudinous other most circumstantial and distinctive Scripture prophecies; 2ndly, and *specifically*, that he gave light to the benighted Gentiles of the Mediterranean, and out of them constituted to himself a distinct covenanted people, or Church.—To this I now proceed. And let me endeavour to trace out the evidence on either head so as it might have opened to some earnest Gentile enquirer of the apostolic period; after first sketching the manner in which such an individual might have been prepared in spirit for the investigation. The whole subject will thus come before us with somewhat more of freshness and effect, than if treated as a mere subject of inquiry at this present time by one of ourselves.

Truly, after all that had past in the seven or eight centuries before him, we may well conceive how such a person, in the age succeeding after Cicero, might on reflection have come to realize to himself the thoughts and feelings so strikingly exprest long afterwards by Pascal. “When I see the blindness and wretchedness of man, and the astonishing contrarieties of his nature; when I behold the universe silent, and man without light, abandoned to himself, and lost as it were in this corner of the universe, without knowing who has placed him there, or what he is come to do,

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or what will become of him after death ; I feel panic-struck, like a man that might have been carried asleep to some desert island, and wake without knowing where he is, and without any means of escaping from it." In such a state of mind would the general indifference and thoughtlessness about these great questions, which he would be sure to observe in nearly all around him, have sufficed to dissipate our inquirer's sad and solemn reflections? Rather surely his mind would still travel on in sympathy with Pascal's, as he thus proceeded to express *his* feelings. "And then I wonder how it is that one does not despair at so wretched a state. I see other persons near me of a nature resembling my own. I ask them if they are better informed than I am ; and they say, No. And then these lost creatures, having looked around them, and seen some pleasant objects, give to them their attention and their hearts. As for me, I cannot repose in such a state : nor rest secure in the mere society of persons weak, wretched, and ignorant as myself. I see that they will give me no assistance to die rightly. I must die alone. I will act then as if I were alone. I will not embarrass myself with the tumultuary occupations of the world ; or aim, as my great object, at the applause or esteem of my fellow-men. One thing only will I strive for ; and that, *the discovery of the truth.*"¹

But where might a Greek or Roman, at the time we are imagining, some 80 or 90 years after Cicero's

¹ See his "Thoughts," Sect. viii.

death, have hoped to discover the truth? Where, when for 600 years, and more, the wisest of those two great nations had been seeking, and seeking, and yet never found?—It pleased God, we know, that already a considerable time before the epoch spoken of, there should have been scattered over those isles of the Gentiles little colonies of Jews, with legal tolerance granted by the Roman emperors to their worship:¹—a race strange and despised in the eyes of Greeks and Romans; but yet with doctrines about the Deity (as every intelligent and candid heathen must have acknowledged) nobler, far nobler, than ever the wisdom of the philosophers had attained to.² And we may suppose some casual visit to one of their synagogues to have brought our inquirer into acquaintance with the selfsame prophecy that I have taken for my text.³ In which case he could scarce but be struck with the assurance (an assurance like that of inspiration,) with which, in terms the most emphatic, God's purpose was declared of sending in due time some certain delegate from heaven, ordained for the very purpose of giving light and enfranchisement of mind to the benighted Gentiles of the isles: (just in accordance, he would remember, with Socrates' long before hopefully exprest anticipation: ⁴) “Thus saith God Jehovah, I have called thee in righteousness; and I will hold thy hand, and will keep thee, and *give thee*

¹ See Mosheim i. 1. 2. 18.—At Rome itself the number of Jews had been greatly increased by the captives brought from Judæa by Pompey.

² Compare Longinus' testimony to Moses, οὐχ ὁ τυχων ἀνθρωπ.

³ The reading of *Isaiah* in the usual course of the synagogue-worship is illustrated by Luke iv. 17, 18.

⁴ See p. 15, *suprà*.

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for a light of the Gentiles; to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house." And though, after considering all the vain efforts after the discovery of the truth that had been made for ages previous by so many of the wisest and greatest in their day and generation, our inquirer's first feeling might be to hear the prediction with scepticism, as foretelling what was at once too good and too contrary to all Greek and Roman experience ever to prove true, yet it is very supposable that, in spite of all this, the majesty and sublimity of the prophetic language, so utterly unlike and superior to all the dicta of the philosophers, might on reconsideration have suggested a kind of hope within his breast: and led him, like one of the devout Greeks of whom we read from time to time in the history of the Acts of the Apostles,¹ to attend yet again the worship of the Jewish synagogue. Whereby, and also by private study of the Septuagint Greek translation of the Old Testament Scriptures, now widely current in the Greek countries round the Mediterranean, he would become familiarized somewhat more with the sacred books there read and expounded: and more especially with the great promise of a Deliverer to man's benighted family, (one prophesied of, we saw,² under the title of the *Messiah*, i. e.

¹ Examples of Gentile visitants at the Jewish temple, or synagogues, occur Acts viii. 27, x. 1, 2, xiii. 43, xvi. 14, xvii. 4, xviii. 7, &c. Juvenal xiv. 101 notes the Roman proselytes' study of Moses' books.

Judaicum ediscunt; et servant, et metuunt jus,
Tradidit arcano quodecumque volumine Moses.

² See p. 4.

the *Christ*, or *Anointed One*,) which from beginning to end he would find to run through those Scriptures like a silver thread. LECT.
II.

And thus a range of thought much larger than before as to God's purposes of mercy, (if those Scriptures were true,) would open before him ; and views respecting the promised Deliverer, more definite and particular than could have been derived from this single prophecy.—From it indeed sundry points respecting him of great interest were to be inferred :—more especially as to his *person* ; that he was to be some one of transcendent dignity, on whom God's Spirit would specially rest, and in whom God would feel perfect complacency, although designated also as God's servant and messenger :¹—as to his *character* ; that, unlike the generality of those who aspire at playing a distinguished part in the world, his characteristic habits would be altogether unostentatious and unworldly ; and such as to sympathize rather with the children of sorrow, than with the rich and great and noble of this world :²—as to his *experience of life* ; that there would be much in it of trial and discouragement, much to need God's special intervention to help and support him :³—as to *the time of his coming*, that it would be long delayed beyond what might have been expected, “ I have long time holden my peace, and refrained myself ; ”⁴ so that the long interval

¹ Is. xlii. 1, 6.

² Is. xlii. 2, 3 ; “ He shall not cry, nor lift up, or cause his voice to be heard in the street. A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench.”

³ Ib. ver. 4, 6.

⁴ Ver. 14.

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that had elapsed since Isaiah's time, without any fulfilment of the promise, would seem to our inquirers to be no bar to its fulfilment afterwards :—as to *the occasion of his enlightening the Gentiles*, and gathering out of *them* a people to himself, that it would follow upon the Jews rejecting him, and being consequently for a while abandoned by God, and given up to judgment : ¹—besides, yet once more, certain mysterious words that were here added by Isaiah, about all this being done so as to be a *manifestation of God's righteousness, magnifying of his law* and making it honorable : and done too in the way of *a covenant* ; ² even as if to be inaugurated, like other covenants among both Jews and Gentiles, with the sanction of solemn sacrifice.—Thus much, I say, was to be inferred from this very chapter of our text, respecting the promised enlightener and emancipator of the Gentiles.—But, on comparing and connecting it with the long line of other predictions of the Hebrew Scriptures respecting him, how much fuller and clearer would seem the light of prophecy ; how many other and more explicit predicted particulars open on our inquirer as to his nature,

¹ See from verse 18 to the end of the Chapter. Verse 18 ; “Hear, ye deaf, and look, ye blind, that ye may see. Who is blind but my servant ; or deaf as my messenger that I sent ?” This is explained by various learned expositors to mean the Jewish priests and rulers ; who “having eyes saw not, and having ears heard not, neither did understand,” on Jesus Christ's coming and ministering : one being put for the class. Which being so explained, a reason appears for what is said of God's rejecting the Jews, at the end of the Chapter ; “Who gave Jacob for a spoil, and Israel to the robbers ? Did not the Lord ? He *against whom we have sinned* ? Therefore He hath poured upon him the fury of his anger.” Compare Is. vi. 9—12. ² Verse 6.

lineage, time and place of birth, character, doctrine, rejection by the Jews, sufferings, penal death, ascension, and subsequent resurrection, kingdom, glory :— particulars with which, Brethren, you are all doubtless familiar ; and which there is no need now to specify, as I shall have almost immediately to begin a reference to them in detail, when speaking of the history of Him who fulfilled them. In fact it was all but an expansion, our inquirer would see, of the great primeval promise said to have been given to Adam on his fall : “ The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent’s head : ” and repeated, as time went on, with more and more of particulars and detail continually, from Adam to Noah, Noah to Abraham, Abraham to Moses, Moses to David, and David to Isaiah, Daniel, Malachi ; the latter, the last of the prophets in the Hebrew Scriptures.

And now then we have to carry forward the case of the Gentile Greek inquirer that we are imagining ; and to remember how to any such an one, so *prepared in mind* by the study of Isaiah’s and other cognate prophecies of the Jewish Scriptures, the news would naturally be brought about the time at which we place him, at first by vaguer rumours, but soon by the reported testimony of accredited teachers, such as *the apostle Paul*, to the effect that *ONE professing to be the very person intended by the prophecies*, had very shortly before lived, and died, yea, and (it was said) risen up again from the dead, in Isaiah’s own country Judea. Did then the evidence *generally* agree ?

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Might he really have been the Christ predicted? So would open on our inquirer the great question for investigation.

It was some 40 years after the death of Cicero, and when Octavian Augustus, one of the Triumvirate who had united with Antony in signing his death-warrant, had been already some time established as sole ruler in the Empire, that the child JESUS was born at Bethlehem, about whom these things were told.¹ And, to begin, in regard of his *birth* itself, its time, occasion, place, family, there appeared doubtless very remarkable *primâ facie* coincidences with various Scripture prophecies regarding the promised Messiah. According to certain learned Jews' construction of a famous prediction in Isaiah,² the promised Saviour was to be born of a virgin, (indeed as much might almost seem to have been intimated also in the primeval promise of him as "the seed of the woman,"³) one of the family of king David: and it was of a virgin of the family of David that this Jesus was said to have been miraculously born.—It was the town Bethlehem that was marked out by Micah as the Messiah's birthplace; and Bethlehem was the birthplace of Jesus.⁴—The very occasion on which his virgin-

¹ As Cicero's death occurred B.C. 43, and St. Paul's first missionary journey into Greece about A.D. 51, there was the interval of some 90 years between the two events. Thus a Greek or Roman 60 years old at the time of St. Paul's coming into Greece might easily, when a boy of 10, have heard his father talk of Cicero's death and philosophic disputations, as what in his youth he had been cognizant of.

² Is. vii. 14. (Sept. *παρθενος*.) In Matt. i. 23, we read the Christian Jews' construction of this memorable prophecy in Isaiah.

³ So Lowth on Is. vii. 14.

⁴ Micah v. 2, Matt. ii. 1—6.

mother was led thither marked the fulfilment therein of another old prophecy about Messiah's coming. For it was on occasion of Augustus issuing an edict for the census and taxation of the Roman world, and in Judæa requiring that each particular family should go to its own family town to be taxed, that Mary, the mother of Jesus, went to David's town Bethlehem, as being herself of the house and lineage of David.¹ And this treatment of Judæa as a subject province marked to the world that the power of self-government had then passed away from Judah: just as it had been predicted about the state of things there at the time of Messiah's coming;—"The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until *Shiloh* (i. e. the *Messiah*) come."²—Besides that the term of seventy sevens of years had then very nearly elapsed from one of the later decrees of the Persian kings for the rebuilding of Jerusalem; a period noted down by the prophet Daniel as what was to elapse from after such a decree to the coming of the Messiah: and which powerfully contributed doubtless to cause an extraordinary expectation among the Jews at that time of their Messiah's imminent advent.³—Nor again was the fact to be overlooked of sundry

¹ Luke ii. 1—7.

² Gen. xlix. 10. Whether the word *Shiloh* be derived from a root making it to mean, "*The sent one*," just equivalent to Isaiah's expression in this chapter "*My messenger*," or from another root, which will make its meaning *The Peacemaker*, agreeably with Isaiah's statement about the Messiah, liii. 5, "*The chastisement of our peace is upon him*," the agreement holds. See Bishop Newton on Gen. xlix. 10.

³ So Luke iii. 15, John i. 19, &c. Compare the statement in

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very remarkable concordant testimonials to his being the great predicted One, which were reported to have been given about the time of Jesus' birth. An Angel, it was said, had announced to his mother that he would be born of her out of the common course of nature; and that, as being indeed the promised deliverer of man, the name given him was to be *Jesus*, or *Saviour*. It was said too that shepherds that were feeding their flocks on the hill-sides of Bethlehem saw a vision of Angels on the night of his birth; heard from them an announcement of the good tidings of great joy, "Unto you is born this day in the city of David a *Saviour*, which is *Christ the Lord*;" and when, under the same angelic direction, they sought out the babe spoken of, that they found it to be *Jesus*, then lying just born in the manger of an inn for his cradle, precisely as the Angel had told them. Soon after which, further, old Simeon, a priest of high repute at Jerusalem for sanctity, was related to have embraced the child, on his mother's coming to the temple for her purification; and recognized him as "*the light that was to lighten the Gentiles*," (just agreeably with Isaiah's prophecy now under consideration,) as well as "the glory of his people Israel:"—moreover, as if the more to direct the regard of men to him as the promised enlightener of the Gentile world, that certain wise men of the Gentiles from the far East were directed by the guidance of a bright starry meteor all

Tacitus v. 13; "Pluribus persuasio inerat antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri ipso tempore fore ut valesceret oriens, profectique Judææ rerum potirentur."

the way to the very place where the child was ; and recognized and worshipped him as the great promised king and Saviour.¹ LECT.
II.

Such were the statements reported about the glorious yet humble birth of the child in question : a mixture of lowliness and greatness admirably accordant,—it would be felt by our inquirer,—with the character of the great Deliverer sketched out in Jewish Scripture prophecy. And though for a considerable time afterwards nothing, as it seemed, occurred like what from a birth so wonderful, and wonderfully inaugurated, might by many have been anticipated,—the child growing up under the parental roof for the most part in retirement, and the world going on as before with its usual cares, pleasures, and agitations, just as if nothing wonderful had happened, or was to be expected,—yet at length, a year or two before his reaching the mature age of 30, (that which had been fixed by the Mosaic law as the age for entering on the active duties of the Jewish priesthood,²) the attention of the Jewish people was related to have been suddenly afresh awakened respecting him. For just then began the public preaching of a most remarkable man called *John the Baptist*, one counted by the whole Jewish nation as a prophet : of manners of life self-denying almost to austerity ; and who both so, and in various other ways, reminded many of what was written of the old prophet *Elijah*.³ And when,

¹ Matt. i. 20, 21 ; Luke i. 30—35, ii. 7—16, 25—32 ; Matt. ii. 1—11.

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very remarkable concordant testimonials to his being the great predicted One, which were reported to have been given about the time of Jesus' birth. An Angel, it was said, had announced to his mother that he would be born of her out of the common course of nature; and that, as being indeed the promised deliverer of man, the name given him was to be *Jesus*, or *Saviour*. It was said too that shepherds that were feeding their flocks on the hill-sides of Bethlehem saw a vision of Angels on the night of his birth; heard from them an announcement of the good tidings of great joy, "Unto you is born this day in the city of David a *Saviour*, which is *Christ the Lord*;" and when, under the same angelic direction, they sought out the babe spoken of, that they found it to be *Jesus*, then lying just born in the manger of an inn for his cradle, precisely as the Angel had told them. Soon after which, further, old Simeon, a priest of high repute at Jerusalem for sanctity, was related to have embraced the child, on his mother's coming to the temple for her purification; and recognized him as "*the light that was to lighten the Gentiles*," (just agreeably with Isaiah's prophecy now under consideration,) as well as "the glory of his people Israel:"—moreover, as if the more to direct the regard of men to him as the promised enlightener of the Gentile world, that certain wise men of the Gentiles from the far East were directed by the guidance of a bright starry meteor all Tacitus v. 13; "*Pluribus persuasio inerat antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri ipso tempore fore ut valesceret oriens, profectique Judæarum potirentur.*"

the way to the very place where the child was ; and recognized and worshipped him as the great promised king and Saviour.¹ LECT.
II.

Such were the statements reported about the glorious yet humble birth of the child in question : a mixture of lowliness and greatness admirably accordant,—it would be felt by our inquirer,—with the character of the great Deliverer sketched out in Jewish Scripture prophecy. And though for a considerable time afterwards nothing, as it seemed, occurred like what from a birth so wonderful, and wonderfully inaugurated, might by many have been anticipated,—the child growing up under the parental roof for the most part in retirement, and the world going on as before with its usual cares, pleasures, and agitations, just as if nothing wonderful had happened, or was to be expected,—yet at length, a year or two before his reaching the mature age of 30, (that which had been fixed by the Mosaic law as the age for entering on the active duties of the Jewish priesthood,²) the attention of the Jewish people was related to have been suddenly afresh awakened respecting him. For just then began the public preaching of a most remarkable man called *John the Baptist*, one counted by the whole Jewish nation as a prophet : of manners of life self-denying almost to austerity ; and who both so, and in various other ways, reminded many of what was written of the old prophet *Elijah*.³ And when,

¹ Matt. i. 20, 21 ; Luke i. 30—35, ii. 7—16, 25—32 ; Matt. ii. 1—11.

² See Numb. iv. 3, 47 ; and 1 Chron. xxiii. 3.

³ John i. 21, Matt. iii. 4. compared with 2 Kings i. 8.

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on occasion of his acting out the extraordinary part of publicly baptizing proselytes in the river Jordan, as if introductorily to some new religion, the priests and Levites sent messengers to ask in what character, and by what authority, he did so, and whether in that of the promised Christ, his reported answer was to the effect that he was not himself the Christ, but simply the herald to announce Christ's coming:—the messenger in fact sent before his face, in the spirit of Elijah, who had been predicted by Malachi;¹ the voice that Isaiah had prophesied of, crying in the wilderness, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God."² Hence it was, he said, that he came baptizing with water; a baptism professedly of repentance, for the remission of sins.³ After which to some of his disciples he expressly pointed out *Jesus as the Christ*; declaring that he had been supernaturally revealed to him by a voice from heaven saying, "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased:" and, moreover, more than once designated him by the extraordinary appellation of the *Lamb of God*;⁴ an appellative suggesting how the remission of sins was to be obtained for men by him, and on which the subsequent sufferings and death of Jesus reflected a light as touching as important.

Such, it was reported, had been John the Baptist's mission and testimony to Jesus: and that then, as

¹ Mal. iii. 1, and iv. 5, 6, compared with Matt. xi. 10, 14, Luke i. 17.

² Is. xl. 3, Matt. iii. 3, Luke iii. 4, John i. 23.

³ Mark i. 4, Luke iii. 3.

⁴ John i. 29, 32—36.

one who had fulfilled the task providentially allotted to him, John past off the scene by a death of martyrdom, and Jesus entered on the fulfilment of what he declared to be his mission from heaven. And need I say, brethren, how the most authentic reports of Jesus' character, life, doctrine, treatment by the Jews, and most extraordinary death, and resurrection after death, must have been felt by our inquirer to have answered to the predictions about the Messiah in the Jewish Scriptures, here and elsewhere? Time of course forbids my more than glancing at them. Yet a hasty glance we must take, in order to our realizing to ourselves how the coincidence with prophecy, as well as concomitant moral evidence, must have struck a devout, candid, and anxious heathen inquirer after the truth, such as I am supposing:—i. e. if satisfied that the reports about Jesus were trustworthy, so as indeed they seemed to be: whether as delivered orally by his accredited apostles and ministers; or as written in certain gospel narratives respecting him, just recently put into circulation by Jesus' disciples in the countries of Asia Minor and Greece.¹

And 1st, as to his *general character and manners*, (according to these reports,) surely nothing so lovely

¹ It is difficult to fix the dates of the different gospels. But probably St. Matthew's, if the earliest, may have been in circulation in its Greek form as early as A.D. 54 or 55. For St. Luke's gospel appears from Acts i. 1, to have preceded his Book of the Acts of the Apostles. And the latter, from its stopping at the end of St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, may be dated with great probability about that epoch; i. e. A.D. 62, very nearly. I must here crave a little chronological license.

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was ever seen on this our earth ; nothing so suited to mark a higher than earthly origin. Could any one gifted with moral sense think for a moment of comparing with it the character of the greatest of the Greek philosophers, as fondly delineated by his disciples Plato and Xenophon ;¹ or that of the greatest of the Roman philosophers, Cicero ? The idea was simply absurd. So holy he was, so pure, so heavenly : so unweariedly and self-denyingly benevolent, ever going about doing good : so meek, gentle, and lowly : so content to be without the world's grandeur, notwithstanding all his high pretensions ; nay, shunning it when prest upon him, in every case where a Jewish multitude wished to proclaim him king : so loving and affectionate, even as if made for heart-friendship : and, in respect of another point too, specially touched on by Isaiah in his prophetic descriptions of the Mëssiah, so devoted in sympathy to the sick, the poor, and the sufferer, whether in mind and body : insomuch that the gospel-writers could not help noticing the coincidence as the fulfilment of one and another of Isaiah's prophecies about Messiah ; " That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, He shall not strive, nor cry, neither shall any man hear his voice in the street ; a bruised reed he shall not break, and a smoking flax

¹ Let me beg to refer to the parallel between the two characters, drawn up by the great Geneva infidel philosopher, Rousseau ; which ends with that memorable confession, in reference to the close of the two lives, " If the death of Socrate's was that of a sage, the death of Jesus was that of a God."

he shall not quench :” and again, “ He hath anointed me to bind up the broken-hearted, to comfort all that mourn :” and yet again, “ He hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows.”¹—Then, *2ndly*, as to that peculiar divine complacency which it was predicted would rest on Messiah, together with some extraordinary outpouring of God’s Spirit, this too seemed to have had fulfilment in the person of Jesus. Besides John the Baptist’s testimony, already noted, as to the Spirit’s visibly descending on him, and the voice of God from heaven audibly expressing his complacency in him, there was reported also by three of the disciples a most extraordinary scene of which they had been eye-witnesses some time after, when alone with him on the summit of Mount Tabor : how that he their master, who was wont to walk in such lowliness among them, appeared then suddenly transfigured into a form of glory brighter than the sun at mid-day, as if that were indeed his proper guise ; and a voice was heard speaking from out of a cloud of surpassing brightness above them, “ This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.” The apostle Peter especially, though years had now elapsed, told of it as what he could never forget.²—Besides that a spirit of wisdom and understanding quite superhuman rested upon Jesus, alike in act and word : a spirit such as to impress the multitudes with an authority before unknown ; to baffle

LECT.
II.

¹ Is. xlii. 1, Matt. xii. 19, 20 ; Is. lxi. 1—3, Luke iv. 17—22, Is. liii. 4, Matt. viii. 17.

² 2 Pet. i. 16—18. The passage seems to me well worthy of all attention by every anxious enquirer into the evidences of Christianity.

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gainsayers; and to force the acknowledgment even from enemies, “Never man spake like this man.”¹—For, *3rdly*, notwithstanding all his loveliness of character, and all his heavenly wisdom, and all his love and benevolence, he had enemies among the Jews the most bitter and malignant; and, by consequence, *trials and difficulties, dangers and discouragements*, of no common order. This was another point of coincidence in his history with what was implied respecting the promised Messiah in the prophecy of Isaiah before us:² and yet much more fully and expressly declared in that wonderful 53rd chapter of his prophetic book; “He is despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief;” and so on. Even in infancy his life was sought by persecutors. And when he had grown up, and begun his public ministry, plot after plot was laid against him by chiefs of the Jewish priesthood and people. But until a certain time foretold and fixt by himself, and of which more presently, in vain.—For *4thly*, a divine power, just like that which it had been predicted would attend the Messiah,³ every where accompanied and upheld Jesus:—in fact such a power that every element in nature, every agency for evil or for good on the earth that we inhabit, seemed subject to him. He walked

¹ See Matt. vii. 28, 29, xxii. 15—46, John vii. 46.

² “He shall not fail, nor be discouraged, till &c.” Is. xlii. 4.

³ Is. xlii. 6; “I the Lord have called thee; and I will hold thine hand, and keep thee.” The enemies of Jesus denied his having been the *called one* of God. So John vii. 41, 52, ix. 16, 29, x. 33, xix. 7, Matt. xxvii. 40, &c.

upon the waters, and they yielded not to his footprint. He rebuked the tempest; and immediately both winds and waves subsided into a calm. Diseases fled at his touch, or word. Enough that he spoke the command, and the deaf heard, the dumb spake, the lepers were cleansed. Yea, death itself was compelled to own his power. "Young man, I say unto thee, arise!" "Lazarus, come forth!"—words like these were all that was needed from him; and from his bier, or from out of his burial cave, the dead man heard, and rose to life.—5. And then as to his *doctrine*, oh! what sublimity and moral beauty characterized it; and how truly did it recommend itself to the conscience as the doctrine of light, and truth, and salvation! It unfolded the depths of the nature both of God and man in a manner altogether different from, and above, what had been taught by the philosophers. As regards *God*, it set him forth as a Being not benevolent only, so as had been previously understood and taught by many of the Gentile sages, by Socrates, Plato, Cicero; but as one also full of heart-tenderness, sympathy, affection, even like as a loving father: and again not as one great and fair only,¹ but *holy*;—a word unknown to the philosophers in the sense in which Jesus used it, viz., as implying sensitiveness to, and shrinking from, whatsoever was sinful, (in other words from whatever deviated however slightly from the rule of perfect purity and rectitude,) so as in fact to constitute a barrier between himself and all and every thing

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that was sinful. On the other hand, as regarded *man*, how did Jesus open to view the corruption of the human heart, and its total estrangement from God's pure and spiritual law: a law which, unlike and superior to every earthly code of law, applied itself to the thoughts and desires of the heart within, as well as to the actions.¹ And so from these two premises combined he set forth the existing relation between God and man, in a light alike new and striking: viz. as that of a father alienated, necessarily alienated, from his own children by their apostacy and guilt; and yet yearning with more than parental tenderness for their recovery and reconciliation.—But how and whence this reconciliation and recovery, under such circumstances, and between parties so essentially separated? Here came in that part, that most wonderful part, of the reported doctrine of Jesus, which shed light on certain of Isaiah's obscurer hints about the Messiah's work and mission:—alike what was said of God's calling him to fulfil his destined work "*in righteousness*," as if in some way that would mark the development and acting out of the divine attributes of justice and righteousness;²—what was said of his being a *covenant* to the people,³ connecting this with what both the Jewish law, and the customs of the chief Gentile nations also, (customs handed down from patriarchal times,) laid down as

¹ See, for example, Christ's Sermon on the Mount.

² Is. xlii. 6, "I have called thee in righteousness." Compare too Dan. ix. 24, "to bring in everlasting righteousness."

³ Is. xlii. 6, xlix. 8.

necessary to the validity of solemn national covenants, viz. the death of some sacrificial victim sanctioning it;¹—and what was further intimated both by Isaiah and by Daniel as to the Messiah being himself *the* sacrificial victim that was to inaugurate God's new covenant of reconciliation and peace with guilty man,²—that lamb of God, as John the Baptist called him, that (like the scapegoat of the ancient Jewish ritual)³ would take away the sins of the world.—Accordingly, as the brief three and a half years of Jesus' earthly ministry were drawing to a close, he began, it was

LECT.
II.

¹ "Where a covenant is there must also of necessity be the death of the appointed sacrifice of covenant." Such I believe is the correcter rendering of the clause in Heb. ix. 16, *ὅπου διαθήκη θανάτου αναγκη φερσθαι τε διαθεμενα*. So Macknight, &c.—In illustration of the sense of *covenant*, instead of *testament*, here given to *διαθήκη*, as elsewhere in the Bible, see the paper by Sir Lancelot Shadwell, published in the Appendix to the third volume of my *Horæ Apocalypticæ* (4th Edit.) p. 571; a paper which he was so good as to draw out for me after hearing this Lecture, and in confirmation of this point in my statement.

For a scriptural illustration of what is said of the death of some intervening sacrifice being required for the sanctioning of solemn covenants, see the remarkable case of Abraham's division and allotment of the sacrifices on God's entering into covenant with him, Gen. xv. 9—18: also those in the covenant at Sinai, Ex. xxiv. 8; "Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord hath made with you." (Compare Heb. ix. 20.)—For an illustration among Gentile nations, see the case of the covenant between the Greeks and Trojans, described in the third book of Homer's *Iliad*. Hence in fact the origin of the expressions *ορκια τεμνειν*, *fœdus ferire*.

² Is. liii. 5—7, Dan. ix. 26.

³ Lev. xvi. 21; "And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat, and shall send him away by the hand of a fit man into the wilderness. And the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities into a land not inhabited."

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related, to tell strange things to the disciples about his first purpose of voluntarily yielding himself up to a *penal* death,¹ with a view to the salvation of men, by sentence of both Jews and Gentiles condemning him : and, very singularly, on two different occasions specified (as if an important element in the scheme) the kind of death, viz. that by *lifting up on a cross* ;² which selfsame death had been typified by the brazen serpent under Moses, and marked too by the old Jewish law as death *under a curse*.³ More especially on the solemn occasion of his eating the last passover supper with his disciples, the very evening (as it proved) before his death, Jesus reminded them, it was said, of what he was now purposing to suffer. Breaking a piece of bread before them, and then pouring out a cup of wine, he bade them partake of both the one and other : and then charged on them to repeat a similar ceremonial ever after ; in remembrance of his body that he was about to have broken, and his blood that he was about to shed, for their salvation. “ For this,” he said, “ is *my blood of the new covenant*, which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins.” An injunction to the truth of which there appeared the witness, not of Jesus’ disciples only, but also of the remarkable commemorative feast of “ the Lord’s Supper,” which had uniformly since been observed among the Christians, as part and parcel of

¹ Matt. xvi. 21, &c.

² John iii. 14 ; viii. 28 ; xii. 32, 33 ; Matt. xx. 19, &c.

³ Deut. xxi. 23.

their solemn Sunday (or Lord's day) worship.¹—And accordingly condemned he was, and executed as a malefactor, the very next day, according to the gospel narratives : and, through certain singular coincidences of events, by the self-same kind of death that he had foretold, the death, the accursed death of the cross.²—

And wonderful surely was the light hereby thrown on the meaning of that extraordinary institution of expiatory sacrifices, handed down from primeval times to every nation of the world : and wonderful the light thrown on the whole doctrine of God's intended mode of reconciling the world to himself, by the voluntary sacrifice of the Messianic substitute, bearing for men the punishment due by men to his offended law ; and, in the same character of man's substitute and representative, presenting to God a perfect righteousness.³—Well, truly, might this be the thanksgiving song of Christians, " Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, *being made a curse for us* : " " He hath *made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin* ; that we might be made the righteousness of God in

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¹ 1 Cor. xi. 20, &c.— Compare Justin Martyr's well-known account of the Christian Sunday worship in the second century.

² The Jewish mode of executing a man for blasphemy was by *stoning*. So John viii. 59, x. 31, 33, and in the case of Stephen. But through Pilate's being at Jerusalem at the time of Jesus' death, and the crime charged on him being that of setting himself up as a king in rivalry against Cæsar, the penal death by Roman law adjudged him became that of *the cross*. (See Paullus, cited by Hug. ii. 411.) This is one of many smaller points of coincidence of which not the fulfilment only, but also the way in which that fulfilment was brought about, should be marked.

³ Compare Isa. xlii. 21 ; " The LORD is well pleased for his righteousness' sake : he will magnify the law, and make it honorable."

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Him.”—Nor, *sixthly*, could the *extraordinary circumstances of Jesus’ death*, as related in the evangelists, be overlooked by our inquirer:—how, on his first capture by the Jewish officers, there was visible and miraculous proof given that his death was altogether voluntary, and not inflicted on him by any superior power of his enemies:—how Pilate, the Roman governor, ere surrendering him to be crucified, himself publicly declared his belief in his innocence, washing his hands before the Jewish priests and people, and saying, “I am innocent of the blood of this just person :”¹—how, while hanging on the cross, the very creation itself seemed to give tokens of its horror at the act; the unclouded sun (fit emblem of Him who had come to be the light of the world) becoming suddenly dark at midday, and earth’s rugged rocks split and rent by earthquake:—how, in the agonies of a lingering death, he at one time, with a godlike forgiving spirit, prayed for his murderers, “Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do;” at another calmly gave assurance to a penitent malefactor crucified beside him, (who marvellously did homage to Jesus even then as the Messiah,) of entering with him that very day into paradise; just as if the unseen world of separate spirits of the good was as familiar to him as this world, and as completely subject to his dominion and authority. Was there not here both moral and physical evidence to the truth of his being indeed, as he said he was, the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?—

[¹ Compare the type Ex. xii. 5, and the prophecy Is. liii. 5, 9.

Yet once more, *seventhly*, there would come up before our inquirer for consideration the wonderful reports by his disciples of Jesus' *resurrection from the dead*; (an event not unhinted in David's Messianic prophecies;) ¹ and this on that selfsame third morning after death, on which he had often himself told them he should rise.² A fact (if fact it was) that was a proof visible and irrefragable both of God's recognition of the truth of his claim to be the Messiah; and of his satisfaction with, and acceptance of, his propitiatory sacrifice of himself for the sins of men.³ For forty days, it was asserted, he appeared again and again at intervals to them; thereby offering proofs to the eye, ear, touch, and intellect, of his being indeed the risen Jesus:—until at length, having completed his instructions, charged them to preach his gospel in all nations, and promised the disciples some special speedy gift of God's Spirit for their help and comfort, he led them out (it was said) to Bethany on Mount Olivet; and thence slowly ascended upward in their sight, his hands outstretched *in act of blessing them*, until a cloud received him out of their sight.

So ended the marvellous earthly career of *Jesus*:

¹ Psalm xvi. 10.

² See Matt. xvii. 23, Luke xxiv. 7, &c.—The apostles seem to have thought the time of Christ's resurrection intimated in the prophecy that "his flesh should not see corruption." Compare Acts ii. 25—32 with John xi. 39.—In Beresheth Rabba, on Gen. xxii. 4, Isaac's deliverance on the *third day* from after his setting out as a victim for sacrifice is applied somewhat curiously as a type to the same effect. "There are many *three days* mentioned in holy Scripture; one of which is the *resurrection of Messiah*." (See Clarke on Gen. xxii.)

³ Compare Rom. i. 4, 1 Cor. xv. 13, 14, 20.

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and such, and so striking, appeared thus far the agreement in his history and character with the old Hebrew Scripture prophecies respecting the *Messiah*.—Nor, as regarded other prophecies which foretold Messiah's *universal and everlasting reign on this our earth*, did the facts of Jesus' death and ascension to heaven preclude the idea of agreement here also, so as on first thought might have been imagined. For Jesus, the Christian teachers affirmed, was indeed a king, and had founded a kingdom; though one, in respect alike of its origin, character, constituency, and time of establishment in its glory, unlike the kingdoms of this world: (all precisely as would be found also to have been predicted of that of the Messiah:) and that his death, just agreeably with those Messianic prophecies, was in fact essential to its formation; followed, after death, by his ascension for a while to the divine presence in heaven.¹ For there, after the type of the Jewish high-priest, he had to plead his atoning self-sacrifice for the sins of his people;² there to seek and obtain for them during the time of their earthly sojourning, the priceless gift of the divine indwelling Spirit;³ and, while overruling and ordering all mundane events,⁴ in the Providential government now committed to him by the Father, in preparation for his again coming in his kingdom, there too to pre-

¹ So Is. liii. 12; "I will divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong; *because he poured out his soul unto death, and was numbered with transgressors, and bare the sins of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.*"

² Heb. ix. 12, 24.

³ Ps. lxviii. 18, John xiv. 16, xvi. 7.

⁴ Matt. xxviii. 18, Eph. i. 20—23.

pare a place for *them* near Himself; that they who here suffered with him might then reign with him.¹ For his *coming again* was a primary article of faith with Christians: and that then at length, his saints both dead and living having been caught up to join Him in his triumph, he would establish his earthly kingdom upon the ruins of those of every enemy; and fulfil all that had been predicted, whether in the law, Psalms, or Prophets, of the glory, blessedness, universality, and everlasting duration of the reign of Messiah.

Meanwhile the problem was to be solved of mankind's reception of this exhibition of God's goodness *on its own account*, and when proposed without any present adjunct of worldly empire or splendor. Accordingly it was enjoined on Jesus Christ's apostles and ministers to act the part of heralds; proclaiming the gospel, or good news, of his kingdom throughout the world every where, with free offer to all of its blessings, beginning at Jerusalem. And so it was that *Christ's Church* had its beginning:—being *a society, outgathered from the rest of mankind*,² of all such as in public profession might agree to accept the gracious offer; with charge, like the lamp of the Jewish temple, to hold up a testimony for Jesus Christ by doctrine and by life in this world: and which, though constituted imperfectly, and with admixture of insincere members, under the present dispensation, was at Christ's second

¹ 2 Tim. ii. 12.

² Κυριακή ἐκκλησία, *the Lord's outgathered association*. The word ἐκκλησία has been preserved in the modern French, Italian, and Spanish terms, *eglise*, *chiesa*, &c; the word κυριακή, or κυριακον, in the Germanic and Anglo-Saxon *Kirche*, *Kirk*, *Church*.

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— coming to be sifted and purified, the insincere cast away, and the true and sincere only acknowledged as his own. And so moreover, when the mass of the Jewish people rejected the offered gospel of the kingdom, as Isaiah had long before foretold they would, the apostles turned, agreeably with their Lord's command, to the Gentiles. And then at length the prophecy of our text had its fulfilment, of light and freedom being brought in Christ Jesus' name to the *Gentiles of the isles*, round the Mediterranean.—More especially the apostle Paul had this Gentile mission devolved on him; and, according to his own report, under very extraordinary circumstances. With bitterest prejudices against the first Christian disciples, he had been their inveterate persecutor, and was pursuing them beyond the precincts of Judea with orders for their imprisonment from the chief priests at Jerusalem; when suddenly a vision of Jesus, brighter than the sun at midday, struck him down near Damascus; and words were heard from him,—“I am Jesus whom thou persecutest!” “But rise,” the voice added, “and stand upon thy feet: for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and witness for me to the *Gentiles*, to whom I now send thee; *to open their eyes*, and *to turn them from darkness to light*, and from the *power of Satan unto God*, (what a counterpart to Isaiah's prophecy in our text!) that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me.”¹ And thus

¹ Acts xxv. 23; xxvi. 16, 18.

Paul had come preaching the gospel, or good news of Jesus Christ's kingdom, and forming Christian Gentile Churches of believers through Asia Minor and Thrace, to Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea: and so at length to the very neighbourhood of the inquirer we are imagining; an Athenian Greek like him we read of in the Acts, *Dionysius the Areopagite*.

LECT.
II.

And here I bring my imaginary case to a conclusion. When the Apostle had come forward (as we know he did) even to Athens, need I suggest how unlike would be our enquirer's conduct to that of the Stoic and Epicurean philosophers who there in cavilling spirit encountered him? Anxiously, but rejoicingly, we can imagine how he would seek out and listen to the apostle: and then, having had his last doubts resolved by him, and further instructions given on the gospel mysteries, how believing he would be baptized, and openly join himself to Jesus Christ's church: also how, so believing, he would *through Jesus* find light, liberty, and holiness; and thus have *experimental* evidence now superadded to the *prophetic*, both of the fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy in our text, and of the truth of the Messiahship of Jesus.

I say, *experimental* evidence. And here a topic for reflection opens on us far too important for me silently to pass over. For we should remember the perfect distinctiveness and peculiarity of this kind of evidence for the divine origin of the Christian religion, as compared with the simple *prophetic* evidence which arises out of the historic fulfilment of Scriptural predictions,—

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being an evidence to the heart, rather than to the intellect; and which will by most who possess it be felt to be even more convincing than the other.¹ And indeed it must be looked upon as one of the things predicted by Isaiah; and consequently as one of the testing-points of the truth of Scripture prophecy. Said Isaiah, "I have given him to be a light to the Gentiles; to *open the blind eyes*; to *bring out the prisoners from the prison*, and *them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house*." To see whether this was fulfilled, or not, when the gospel of Jesus went forth to those Gentile countries that I have spoken of, look to the actual result on the minds, feelings, and lives of the converts to Christianity in Ephesus, Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, Corinth, as incidentally intimated by St. Paul in his Epistles to one and another of the Churches there founded. And oh how beautifully does the change shine forth! How might *Dionysius himself* have

¹ An ingenious and determined Jewish sceptic would easily find occasion for objections in regard of *certain* of the alleged fulfilments of Old Testament prophecy respecting the Messiah in Jesus of Nazareth:—e. g. in regard of his miraculous birth, as answering to the prediction in Isaiah ix; of his being David's son, as predicted of Messiah in the Psalms, but with two varying genealogical tables in Matthew and Luke as its vouchers. And so again in regard of certain Messianic prophecies said to have been fulfilled in Jesus Christ's death and resurrection.—But what of the *mass* of Messianic prophecies irrefragably fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth? Very just and wise is Bishop Butler's caution on the subject of such objections on *certain particulars* predicted, where there seems a clear consistent fulfilment of *multitudinous others*. (See his *Analogy*, Part ii. ch. 7.) But, in every case of difficulty and doubt suggested by the objections of sceptics, the *experimental* evidence of the true Christian is a resource invaluable, an evidence all-convincing and satisfactory.

dwelt upon it! No more thenceforth with them of barren speculations about the mystery of the visible creation, with its strange admixture of moral and natural evil! No more guessings, as if this might be the result of two co-eternal principles, *God* and *matter*, or *God* and *Fate*; the former thwarted by, and in a manner subordinated to, the latter! No more blasphemous thoughts about God as *the soul of the world*: —a theory that materializes the Infinite Spirit; and, in effect, trenches on that quality of personality through which alone God can be a Being with personal susceptibilities towards men of personal interest and affection. No more despair, as once, of real, inward, moral amelioration; conscious as they were of an influence holy and sanctifying, shed on them from above.¹ No more dark conjecturings about the state after death! An intimate communion was now opened between them and heaven. They knew and loved God as a reconciled father in Christ Jesus. They saw in Jesus a gracious Saviour ascended as their forerunner into the heavens; and knew that, even in the state of the separate spirit, they would not be absent from Him. Hence, instead of terror at death, they viewed it as one of their chief friends and treasures. As it was said by St. Paul, “All things are yours; whether life, or *death*, or things present, or things to come; for ye are Christ’s, and Christ is

¹ Compare 1 Cor. vi. 11; “Such were some of you:” (viz., idolaters, fornicators, drunkards, thieves, covetous:) “but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.”

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God's."—Yes, Brethren ; would you wish most clearly and strongly to realize to yourselves the fact and perfectness of the accomplishment of Isaiah's prophecy, in respect of those Gentiles round the Mediterranean who were converted to Christianity by means of the ministry of the apostles of the Lord Jesus, and who so became members of the Christian Church, I have only again to beg you to compare what is intimated by St. Paul of their new views, hopes, character, and life, with what is recorded in the history of the Greek and Roman philosophers, as to the views, hopes, doctrine, and life of those Gentiles who were most deeply versed in *their* philosophy. The converts to Christianity from among them had entered evidently into nothing less than a new world. " God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, had shined into their hearts ; to give them the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ."—Among the evidences of Christianity as a divine revelation, this fact, this great fact, is never to be forgotten.

So has the *second* main point set forth in the prophecy of our text been shown to have had its fulfilment.—There remains however yet a *third* point in it for investigation :—I mean the declaration that all should be so done, in fulfilling the prophecy, as *that the glory should redound to JEHOVAH alone* : not to any earthly teachers as the moral enlighteners and emancipators of the human mind ; nor indeed to any of

what the heathen regarded as inferior gods, intermediate between God and man. "I am JEHOVAH; that is my name; and my glory will I not give to another, nor my praise to graven images:" i.e. not to any fancied inferior gods, such as those images represented.—Whereupon a difficulty may not unnaturally suggest itself. Considering the manner in which the enlightenment and moral emancipation of the Gentiles of the Christian Church was brought about, does it not seem that their affections might almost necessarily be so drawn by Jesus Christ's self-sacrificing love to *himself*, as to rest on him even more than on the Infinite and Eternal Father: who, though indeed consenting to and rejoicing in the redemption so wrought out for man, had yet himself in no wise partaken of the travail of soul and bitter sufferings through which it was accomplished? Was there then a failure of fulfilment in respect of this last point in the prophecy? or was it also fulfilled? And, if so, how? This is to be the subject of my third and next Lecture.

LECTURE III.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND SALVATION OF THE GENTILES
OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH TO BE TO THE GLORY
OF GOD ONLY.

ISAIAH XLII. 5—8.

“THUS SAITH GOD JEHOVAH,—HE THAT CREATED THE HEAVENS,
AND STRETCHED THEM OUT, HE THAT SPREAD FORTH THE EARTH,
AND THAT WHICH COMETH OUT OF IT, HE THAT GIVETH BREATH
UNTO THE PEOPLE UPON IT, AND SPIRIT TO THEM THAT WALK
THEREIN;—I JEHOVAH HAVE CALLED THEE IN RIGHTEOUSNESS;
AND I WILL HOLD THINE HAND, AND WILL KEEP THEE, AND GIVE
THEE FOR A COVENANT OF THE PEOPLE, FOR A LIGHT OF THE
GENTILES; TO OPEN THE BLIND EYES, TO BRING OUT THE
PRISONERS FROM THE PRISON, AND THEM THAT SIT IN DARKNESS
OUT OF THE PRISON-HOUSE. I AM JEHOVAH! THAT IS MY NAME:
AND MY GLORY WILL I NOT GIVE TO ANOTHER, NEITHER MY
PRAISE TO GRAVEN IMAGES.”

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of the prophetic passage that has been read, and
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thralldom, distinctively and exclusively, to *one particular person marked out as God’s appointed Delegate*, a
rapid sketch was traced out in my *first* Lecture of a
series of Greek and Roman philosophers, who in the

seven centuries that intervened between Isaiah and the Christian æra, profest, and endeavoured, to be the moral lights and emancipators of the Gentiles of the isles, but all in vain : and how then, in my *second* Lecture, proof was given that JESUS of Nazareth, claiming to be the very delegate intended by the prophet, and whose birth, life, death, resurrection, and ascension all alike testified to the truth of his claim, accomplished that which none else had been able to accomplish ; and first among the Jews, then among the Gentiles of the isles, (more especially through his apostle Paul's preaching,) brought life and immortality to light by the gospel. But how might this consist with the prophetic closing declaration which it now remains to consider ? We took the imaginary case of some noble-minded Greek or Roman inquirer after truth, to whom the gospel-message might have been brought by a ministry like that of St. Paul ; and sketched the blessed change resulting in all his views and feelings on receiving it into his heart :—a change truly as from darkness to light, to use St. Paul's expression, and from the bondage of corruption to the glorious liberty of the children of God ; or, in Isaiah's similarly figurative language, like that of blind men whose eyes had been opened, and of prisoners delivered from the darkness and bondage of the prison-house. And well, we observed, might his soul fill with gratitude towards the Infinite God who had planned, predicted, and at length enabled his chosen Delegate to carry out successfully into effect for the children of men,

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such a marvellous scheme of deliverance. But the question also suggested itself, Might not a still deeper feeling of gratitude be expected to outflow towards that gracious being *Christ Jesus*, the delegate of the Deity :—one evidently of higher nature than the mere human ; and perhaps one of those Angelic Spirits whom the Hebrew Scriptures represented as having from time to time in human form visited this our earth, on missions of kindness to one and another of God's servants ? I say, might not a still deeper feeling of gratitude be expected to outflow towards that gracious Being, who had not only acquiesced in the scheme of mercy, but actually gone through such humiliation and anguish of soul, in life and death, to accomplish it ? And this the rather, considering that he was said to be still occupied with the work of man's salvation, in his characters of mediator and intercessor for each suppliant that might approach him in prayer ? —In which case would not the chief praise and glory of the accomplished deliverance be *Jesus Christ's* ? and so that part of the prophetic declaration be not only not fulfilled, but absolutely contradicted, “ I am JEHOVAH : that is my name : and my glory will I not give to any other, (whether man or angel,) nor my praise to graven images ? ” i. e. not to any such intermediate Spirits between the supreme God and man as the Gentile Greeks and Romans (not without Scripture warrant so far) imagined ; and whom they vainly worshipped in their temples under the visible symbols of statues and images ?

It is the solution of this difficulty that is to be the subject of my present Lecture. And I think that I may best set it forth in the spirit of my text, by showing under distinct heads, First, that in the enlightenment and deliverance of the Gentiles of the isles, (of which Gentiles the Christian Church was chiefly constituted,) the whole glory and praise of it redounded to JEHOVAH, from the simple but stupendous fact that *Christ the Deliverer* was in very truth no mere created Spirit or Angel, but JEHOVAH *Himself*: Secondly, that this fact of the deliverer being none other than JEHOVAH *resulted necessarily from JEHOVAH's very nature*; "I am Jehovah; that is my name; and my glory will I not give to another."

LECT.
III.

First, then, the glory of the deliverance and enlightenment of the Christianized Gentiles, here predicted, was JEHOVAH'S own, because *Messiah*, the deliverer foretold by the prophets, and realized in Jesus of Nazareth, was none other than JEHOVAH *Himself*.

Bearing in mind the tenor of my instructions as Warburtonian Lecturer, "to prove the truth of revealed religion in general, and of the Christian in particular, from *the fulfilment of Scripture prophecies* relative to the Christian Church," it may be well, I think, while seeking the truth on this important question, to treat it as one whereon to test the truth of Scripture prophecy. I purpose therefore, under the present primary head of my Lecture, 1st, to exhibit this stupendous fact as what was predicted of MESSIAH

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in the Old Testament prophecy ; 2ndly, as what was realized in the person of JESUS of Nazareth, according to the historic and other scriptures of the New Testament.—And, in order to obviate in a measure the disadvantage of discussing a topic with which probably the minds of many, if not most, of my present audience are already familiar, I will crave permission to carry out the investigation of it, (just as the inquiry that was the subject of my last preceding Lecture,) so as we might suppose an intelligent and deeply earnest Greek or Roman convert of the apostolic times to have conducted it for himself: throwing ourselves as it were into his case ; and remembering how he must have felt it,—as he searched the Scriptures, now all sacred to him, for its solution,—to be a question of interest absolutely awful, and involving in its right or wrong answer the very issues to his soul of life or death.

1. The Old Testament's witness to the *proper Deity* of the predicted MESSIAH.

“ I JEHOVAH have called *thee* in righteousness, and I will hold *thy* hand, and give *thee* for a covenant to the people, a light to the Gentiles.” So said the prophet Isaiah : and in answer to the question thence arising to our inquirer, What might be the real nature of the person here address by Jehovah, and so continuously spoken of in Old Testament prophecy as the great coming deliverer, it would be evidently most satisfactory to examine into the Scriptural evidence concerning it *from the commencement*.—It was

obvious then (as intimated in my First Lecture)¹ that the whole divine scheme of mercy for man's recovery was wrapped up in that never-to-be-forgotten primary promise made to Adam after his fall, "*The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head:*"—in which promise the phraseology used might seem almost to mark out the Deliverer as one who, though very man born of a woman, would yet be so born *out of the usual course of nature*: but nothing more. This covenant promise, perilled as it must have appeared at the time by the destroying judgment of the flood, would yet be seen to have been carefully continued onward through Noah; "I will bring a flood to destroy all flesh, but with thee will I establish *my covenant*:"² and then again explicitly renewed to Abraham and his sons Isaac and Jacob; with the important added information, that the great promised Deliverer would be, as to the flesh, one of Abraham's descendants; "*In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed:*"—yet still with no explicit statement as to any original and higher nature in the predicted Deliverer. At the same time there were two intimations in the Abrahamic history, and that of his grandson Jacob, that might seem by no means unimportant to the object of inquiry. The first (a case to be coupled with the scarce-to-be-doubted fact of sacrifice having been instituted by God himself after the fall, as necessary thenceforward to his propitiation and favour,)³ occurred on Abraham's

LECT.
III.¹ p. 3; also p. 37.² Gen. vi. 18.³ A point referred to previously in my second Lecture. See p. 51.

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offering up his son Isaac: an offering to be made apparently in some mysterious connection with the great primeval promise; and on that self-same mountain-range of Moriah on which Jesus long after suffered. On that occasion, we read, a ram was by divine interposition substituted for Isaac; and then the promise of *the seed in whom all the earth was to be blest* was renewed more solemnly than ever before: and, together therewith, (doubtless by divine direction,) Abraham was led to call the place *Jehovah-jireh*; whether in the sense, JEHOVAH *will provide*, i. e. a substitute; or, as Houbigant explains it, JEHOVAH *will be seen*: the remarkable traditional comment being added, “In this mount JEHOVAH will appear.”¹ Was it not like an intimation that the substitute Jehovah would provide would be JEHOVAH *Himself*; albeit mysteriously, as to his *human* nature, of the *seed of Abraham*? In the opinion of Bishop Warburton and others² it was to this transaction that our Lord alluded, when He said, “Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day; and he saw it, and was glad:”² with the added hint of his proper Deity, “Before Abraham was, I am.”—The second intimation (one fitted specially to strike an inquirer fresh from Isaiah’s prophecy before us, in which the promised Deliverer is spoken of as *Jehovah’s delegate* or *messenger*) was this;—that in Jacob’s history a particular *person*, called the *Angel* or *Messenger of Jehovah*, was distinctly identified with JEHOVAH

¹ Gen. xxii. 14. So, it is said, the clause should be translated; not, “In the mount of the LORD it shall be seen.” See Scott or Clarke *ad loc.*

² See Warburton’s *Divine Legation*, and *Vindication*: also Doddridge on John viii. 56.

himself. “*God*, before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk, the *God* which fed me all my life long to this day, the *Angel* which *redeemed* me from all evil, bless the lads.”¹ A point this the more important, because of the self-same *divine Angel* doubtless being again and again spoken of afterwards in the Israelitish history, as personally and prominently mixing himself up with the guidance and deliverance of Israel. So especially, passing on to the times of Moses, in Israel’s first exodus from Egypt. For that glorious Being that preceded them in the pillar and the cloud, though more usually called JEHOVAH,² was yet elsewhere called *The Angel of God*. So Exod. xiv. 19; “*The Angel of God*, which went before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind them; and the pillar of the cloud went from before their face, and stood behind them.” And so again in Exod. xxiii. 20, where it was said by God; “Behold, I send an *Angel* before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared: beware of him, and obey his voice; for *my name is in Him*.” It was the same divine Angel doubtless that appeared in human form to Joshua after the passage of Jordan, and when now about to attack Jericho; announcing himself as the Captain of the Lord’s host, and yet also speaking as JEHOVAH:³—the same too that was similarly mentioned in the histories of Gideon, Manoah, and other of the Judges.⁴ So that on the whole, while Moses’

¹ Gen. xlviii. 15, 16.² E. g. Exod. xiv. 24.³ Compare Josh. v. 14, 15, vi. 2.⁴ Judges vi. 12, 14, 21, 22; xiii. 3, 15, 17, 18, 22, 23; ii. 1.

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memorable dying prophecy about “a prophet whom the Lord God would raise up to Israel like unto himself,” to whom, on pain of excision from God’s covenant people, it would need that they should hearken,¹ —I say, while this might well serve to keep up in Israel’s mind, all through the era of Joshua and the Judges, the fact of the promised Deliverer being destined to appear in *human* form, these other intimations might well serve also to keep up the impression that the predicted prophet like Moses, the “seed of Abraham,” and “seed of the woman,” might very possibly be one and the same with *the Angel of Jehovah*; and so *divine* also in nature, being JEHOVAH himself.

And thus our inquirer would come in his Scripture researches to the time of *David*. And now more direct light might seem to him to break upon the question. Together with the divine announcement to David that the promised Deliverer should (as man) be of his family, and like him too a King, it was intimated also that the kingdom should be of a nature altogether different from, and superior to, the kingdoms of this world; yea as superior as a thing of *God* to a thing of *man*. Striking, very striking, it was, to trace in David’s Psalms the manner in which, *borne out of himself*, as it were, by divine influence, (to use St. Peter’s expression,²) he spoke in detail in the first person, ever and anon, of scenes of suffering and humiliation, such as he himself never went through,

¹ Deut. xviii. 15.

² 2 Pet. i. 21; ὑπο πνεύματος ἁγίου φερομενοι ἐλαλήσαν δι’ ἁγιοῖς Θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι.

but which were afterwards to be realized in the flesh by the Son of David ;¹ while yet in other passages his prophetic harp told of glory and greatness attaching to this self-same individual, that could surely not be less than divine :—" JEHOVAH said unto *my lord*, Sit thou *on my right hand*, until I make thine enemies thy footstool :"—" Thy throne, *O God*, is for ever and ever : the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre : therefore God, even *thy God*, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows."² And so, again, in those four noble successive Psalms, the 96th, 97th, 98th, 99th ;—Psalms in which not God's providential kingdom over the universe is the theme ; but a kingdom of which this earth is to be the theatre, and with Zion prominent in the foreground. In these a time future is defined as that of the establishment of the kingdom, viz. not till after some extraordinary judgment on this world by fire : and the King is referred to that self-same *divine Angel* that spake to Israel out of the cloudy pillar ;³ and about whom, on this his royal installation, the proclamation goes forth, "*Worship him*, all ye *Elohim* ;" i. e. *angel-gods*, as the word is translated in the Epistle to the Hebrews.⁴ Could any but JEHOVAH be an object of worship to Angels ?—And then would come the evidence of the Books of the *Prophets* in the Hebrew Scripture. And, as our inquirer advanced to them, the light surely on his momentous subject of inquiry would seem greater, the declarations more express.

¹ Psalm xxii. 1, &c.² Psalm cx. 1, xlv. 6, &c.³ Psalm xcix. 7.⁴ Ib. 7 ; Hebrews i. 6.

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Take first that marvellous burst of anticipative triumph in Isaiah, in reference to the enlightenment of them that had sate in darkness, just as in our text:—"To us *a child* is born; to us *a son* is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, *the Mighty God*, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom; to order it, and to establish it, with judgment and with justice, even for ever."¹ And that its cognate prediction, a little preceding; "A virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name EMMANUEL; i. e. *God with us*:"²—a passage to which, notwithstanding certain difficulties in the context, fair criticism has never been able to affix any other meaning but that which of themselves the words do most naturally import; and which my previously-cited passage serves so strikingly to confirm. And as Isaiah, so Jeremiah:—"Behold, I will raise up unto David a righteous Branch; and a king shall reign and prosper: and this is the name whereby he shall be called, *JEHOVAH our righteousness*."³ And so again, with reference specially to his place of human birth, the prophet Micah: "Thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall He come forth to me that is to be ruler in Israel; *whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting*."⁴ And Zechariah, with reference to the very

¹ Is. ix. 6.² Is. vii. 14.³ Jer. xxiii. 6.⁴ Micah v. 2.

article of his death ; “ Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, and against *the man that is my fellow*, saith JEHOVAH of Hosts.”¹ Marvellous expression! the *man* that is JEHOVAH’s fellow! Could this be equivocal?—And then, last in time of all the prophetic choir, the prophet Malachi: “ Behold, I send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and JEHOVAH, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to *his* temple; even the *Angel of the Covenant* whom ye delight in: behold, he shall come, saith JEHOVAH of hosts.”² So JEHOVAH declares that JEHOVAH shall come: come in the person of the *Angel of the Covenant*: i.e. in that *person* of the Godhead, (if I may use a time-hallowed, though human, and necessarily imperfect term of definition on such a profound mystery,) I say in that *person* of the Godhead, which was manifested as the divine *Angel of the Covenant* to the patriarchs of old.

Thus, summing up the Old Testament testimony, it might surely be our inquirer’s conclusion that, admitting here and there certain difficulties,³ yet in the most of the prophetic passages cited, the meaning was clear, and the evidence of all in the aggregate absolutely overwhelming; to the effect that the promised Deliverer and Enlightener of a dark world was to be of *the nature of God*, the *Supreme self-existent God*, as well as *man*.—Doubtless a mighty mystery; and one far above human faculties to fathom. Yet that it could not be shewn to be *contrary* to reason

¹ Zech. xiii. 7.² Malachi iii. 1.³ See these alluded to in my preceding Lecture p. 58 *suprà*.

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might follow from the very fact of its being *above* reason. And that it was not inconsistent with the cardinal doctrine of the *Divine Unity* might be inferred from the language of the very passage wherein that doctrine was most strongly and solemnly enforced by Moses; "Hear, O Israel! JEHOVAH our God is one JEHOVAH,"¹ the Hebrew word for God being there most remarkably in the plural, *Elohim*, Gods. Just as in sundry other passages where, when speaking of God, the singular and the plural will be found similarly combined;—"Jehovah said, Let *us* make man in our image;" "lest the man become as one of *us*;" "Remember thy *Creators* in the days of thy youth:"²—passages occurring in sufficient frequency to justify its being spoken of as almost a characteristic of the sacred Hebrew designations of God. It was as in regard of the human body, where the soul and the body constitute but one person: or as in the case of light, where the three rays combine in unity as one.

2. And, such then being the testimony of Old Testament prophecy as to the *divine* as well as *human* nature attaching to the promised MESSIAH, was it the case that in respect of this mighty, this stupendous characteristic, (as well as in respect of all else that it was my business to trace in my last Lecture,) there was an answering in the person and history of JESUS of Nazareth? It would not need much research on the part of our inquirer to discover that the

¹ Deut. vi. 4.

² Gen. i. 26, iii. 22, Eccles. xii. 1.

answer was in the affirmative to that question. Alike in the narratives of the birth, life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, and in the concurrent testimonies of his chief apostles, he would find the evidence abundant and ready to his hand. When the birth of John the Baptist, his forerunner, was announced to John's father Zachariah, the following was declared to be the announcing Angel's declaration:—"And many of the children of Israel shall he (i. e. John) turn to *the Lord their God*: and he shall go before *Him* (i. e. the Lord their God) in the spirit and power of Elias, to make ready a people prepared for the Lord."¹ Again, when the annunciation was made to the Virgin Mary, it was said by the Angel, "Thou shalt conceive, and bring forth a son, and call his name Jesus; He shall be great, and shall be called the *Son of the Highest*:"² and in the narrative by St. Matthew; "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bear a son, and they shall call his name EMMANUEL, which is, being interpreted, God *with us*."³—When grown up, and entered on his ministry, the greatness and glory of his character was such that *angelic* excellence, according to St. John, was far too low a standard whereby to characterize it; "We beheld his glory, the glory as of *the only-begotten of the Father*, full of grace and truth."⁴—Then, too, his *miracles* were done in his own name, in direct contrast with those

¹ Luke i. 16, 17.² Ib. i. 32.³ Matt. i. 22, 23.⁴ John i. 14.

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of his disciples;¹ even as by a power inherent in himself. Moreover, each attribute of divinity was claimed or exercised by him. *Omniscience*:—"He needed not that any man should testify of man; for he knew what was in man:" "I am he that searcheth the hearts."² *Omnipresence*:—"When thou wast under the fig-tree I saw thee:" "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them:" "No man hath ascended up to heaven, but He that came down from heaven, even the Son of Man who is in heaven."³ *Eternity*:—"Before Abraham was, I am:" "I am with you always, even unto the end of the world:" "I am alpha and omega, the beginning and the ending, the first and the last."⁴ *Omnipotence*:—all his miracles marked it.—It was indeed one of the beautiful features of his character, that he seemed to have complacency in his state of humiliation; and so was wont to speak of himself much more often as the *Son of man*, than as the *Son of God*. But times were when both to his disciples, and to the Jews, he asserted unequivocally the glory of his proper deity. When his disciple Philip asked him, "Lord, shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us," his answer was, "Have I been so long time

¹ E. g., Acts iii. 6, 12; "In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth rise up and walk."—"Ye men of Israel, why marvel ye at this? Or why look ye so earnestly at us, as though by our own power, or holiness, we had made this man to walk? . . . His name (that of Jesus of Nazareth), through faith in his name, hath made this man strong."

² John ii. 24, 25; Rev. ii. 23.

³ Matt. xviii. 20, John i. 48; iii. 13.

⁴ John viii. 58, Matt. xxviii. 20, Rev. i. 8, 11.

with thee, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? He that hath seen me hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou then, Show us the Father? Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me?" And again; "I and my Father are one."¹ The Jews indeed well understood that his pretensions were to this effect; and attempted more than once to stone him in consequence:—"For a good work we stone thee not, but for blasphemy; and because that thou, being a man, makest thyself God."² And at length that self-same matter of charge came, as might have been expected, to its crisis. When brought before the High Priest, and asked, "Art thou the Christ, the SON of the BLESSED?" His answer was in the affirmative, "Thou sayest that I am." Whereupon it is added, "the High Priest rent his clothes, saying, He hath spoken blasphemy:" urged the charge against him with Pilate, "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the SON of GOD:"³ and so, having prevailed over Pilate's reluctance, had him delivered up to them to be crucified. It is most important that each anxious inquirer into the stupendous question under consideration should mark this fact. To prevent Pilate's non-acquiescence with their wish of destroying him, the Jews indeed spoke too of his calling himself a king, as if in rivalry with Cæsar.⁴ (There was a needs be for this, we saw, that they knew not.⁵) But the real

¹ John xiv. 9—11; x. 30.² John x. 33.³ Matt. xxvi. 63, 64, John xix. 7.⁴ John xix. 12.⁵ See p. 51.

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ground of their seeking and procuring his condemnation was what I have stated.—And was it true then that in claiming the ascription of DEITY to himself he had spoken blasphemy? And did God put his seal to the truth of the accusation and condemnation? We know what followed. God raised him up from the dead, according to Jesus Christ's own prediction, on the third day: thereby, as St. Paul says, in the fullest and largest sense of the appellation, "declaring him to be the SON of GOD with power."¹

Time forbids that I should do more than glance at the subsequent strong and clear testimonies of his disciples. Take but two or three, by St. John and by St. Paul. "In the beginning was the Word; and the Word was with God; and the Word was God." "This is the true GOD, and eternal life."² So St. John. And St. Paul; "Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be *equal to God*:" "In him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily:" "Who was the brightness of God's glory, and the express image of his person:" and yet again; "Who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born (or perhaps first originator)³ of every creature: for by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are on earth; visible and invisible; whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers, all were created by him, and for him; and by him all things consist."⁴ Mark! *for* him, as well as *by* him.

¹ Rom. i. 4.

² John i. 1; 1 John v. 20.

³ πρωτοτοκος.

⁴ Phil. ii. 6, Col. ii. 9, Hebrews i. 3, Col. i. 15, 16, 17.

Could that be said of any one but JEHOVAH?—Accordingly he is represented as, equally with the Father, the object of worship and adoration by all created beings. Take but that sublime passage in the Revelation:—“And I beheld, and I heard a voice of many Angels, round about the throne, and the living creatures, and the elders: and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands; saying with a loud voice, ‘Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing!’ And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, ‘Blessing, and honor, and glory, and power, be unto HIM that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the LAMB for ever and ever.”¹

Thus, Brethren, considering the whole matter as a question of prophetic truth, this has I think been proved on abounding evidence, that with regard to the last clause in my text, viz. “I am JEHOVAH, that is my name, and my glory will I not give to another,” it had its fulfilment in the work and person of Jesus of Nazareth, just like all the rest. For that, although the glory of thanks and gratitude for the enlightenment and salvation of the poor lost Gentiles spoken of in the former part of the passage could not but in the nature of things centre on JESUS the Saviour, yet this was no robbing JEHOVAH of it:

¹ Rev. v. 11—13.

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seeing that JESUS himself was JEHOVAH, as well as *man*; and under this double character foretold of, with more or less of clearness, from the first fall of man. Our inquirer would find both Old and New Testament consentient in excluding all Socinian or Arian views of the nature of the great Redeemer.

II. And now to my *second* main Head;—under which it was proposed to shew that this mighty fact of the promised Deliverer of lost man being *very* God, arose by necessity out of *God's very nature*:—"I am JEHOVAH: *that is my name*: and my glory will I not give to another." A great subject; but which time will only allow me to open briefly and imperfectly.

"I am JEHOVAH: that is my name." Let us reflect a moment on the purport of the name JEHOVAH. It is one equivalent to that by which God revealed himself to Moses, "I AM THAT I AM:"¹ and implies not merely self-existence, eternity, infinity, all-sufficiency, unchangeableness, and his being the one and only source of life and intelligence to all other existences, but also those moral attributes and excellencies, in all their infinite perfection, which we almost instinctively and necessarily associate with the idea of God; at least from after the time when such a view of God may have been once fairly set before us. For, notwithstanding the strange mystery of moral as well as natural evil existing in the world, (a mystery never to be fully solved till we attain to a higher and better

¹ Ex. iii. 14.

state,) yet this must surely be evident, that our very faculty of appreciating what is morally excellent implies the existence of such moral excellencies, in all their perfection, in the *Being of Beings*, JEHOVAH: seeing that it is from Him himself that the very *idea* of them can alone have come to us. And hence the essential difference of character between a creature's having supreme regard to *his* own glory, and God's having it, so as represented in our text. The creature is at the best imperfect, and all its moral excellence both derived and dependent: so that even for an angelic created spirit to have regard to its own glory as an ultimate object, or to rejoice in its own glory as a matter of supreme satisfaction, would be not only to satisfy itself with an imperfect standard of excellence, but to act out ingratitude, yea treason, against the infinite JEHOVAH its Creator; to make an idol of self; and, in that very act, to turn all that was once good in it into evil. On the other hand, God could not be God, could not be perfection, unless He were to make Himself and his glory, for ever and for ever, his own supreme object of delight, love, and regard. I say an object of *delight* and *love*: for not only has God in Himself infinite loveliness, but he has the attribute of love with which to love that loveliness infinitely; nor indeed can this attribute find any where an object for its infinite exercise but in the infinite God himself. And I say too an object of *regard*; i.e. of regard in all his plans and actions. For God's infinite goodness and benevolence cannot but overflow into action; to make other beings

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participant of life, intelligence, and happiness, in their several degrees and capacities. And in all this, were any other glory the supreme object of regard with Him but his own, it would be Himself falling into imperfection : (which is impossible :) and setting up too a standard of imperfection to his creatures ; and thereby introducing into the universe a principle of disorder, desolation, and moral ruin.

Now apply these general remarks about JEHOVAH'S nature to the case of fallen man's recovery, the case contemplated in our text.—It results from what has been said of God's nature, that whatever might be the highest kind of moral excellence, as appreciable by created intelligences, and much more by his own infinite intelligence, this must needs be acted out and exhibited by Himself. Now, so long as all went on rightly and well among the created beings of the universe, the highest appreciable excellence might seem to have been the union of infinite benevolence and infinite holiness ; a union this ever gloriously manifested even from eternity in the blessed God. So far as we know, this state of things may have gone on for millions and millions and millions of years : the bounds of the intelligent universe meantime perpetually enlarging, through the creation of fresh and fresh worlds of animated beings. But when new-created man fell from his allegiance to God, (an event following perhaps quickly after the rebellion of those angels that left their first estate, and fell, it would seem, in a manner not to admit of their re-

covery,) I say when man, the new-created inhabitant of this our planet, had fallen from God under circumstances of strong temptation, and not irrecoverably, —then occasion arose for the development and exercise of moral excellence of a different kind :—I mean that which involved *voluntary self-renunciation and self-sacrifice* for the good of others, with more or less of attendant personal loss or suffering. Among men themselves, in this our fallen world, it is almost impossible to estimate that which costs no self-denial, no self-sacrifice, in the same manner and measure as that which costs much. And as the theatre of this world was ever gazed on from the first with intense interest by the innumerable angelic intelligences, this idea, familiar to men, could not but have become familiar to them also. Which being so, and real though very imperfect exercisings of such moral virtue being exhibited in their sight from time to time by the fallen creature himself, was it to be the case that *in that respect* the blasphemous assertion once made by Seneca should be realized,¹ and man be supposed to exhibit virtue of a higher character than God?

¹ "Ferte fortiter ! Hoc est quo Deum anteceditis. Ille extrâ patientiam malorum est, vos (sapientes) suprâ patientiam." Seneca. Lib. Quare bonis. Cap. vi.

"Est aliquid quo sapiens antecedit Deum. Ille naturæ beneficio, non suo, sapiens est." Ib. Ep. 53.

So Bishop Warburton observes in his 9th Sermon preached at Lincoln's Inn :—"The Stoics placed their wise man in a rank superior to the gods, as having in him something of higher strength and fortitude : for that he persevered in virtue amidst a thousand difficulties and discouragements ; whereas the virtue of the gods had no temptation to shake it."

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The question of man's recovery, we must remember, came up before the Infinite One not simply, but as connected essentially with certain other questions, *three* more especially. 1st, how might man, guilty as he was of rebellion against God, be forgiven, *without impeaching the divine attribute of justice, and causing such rebellion to seem light and venial?* 2ly, how might the process of moral recovery be begun and carried onward in the heart of man, *with man's own free will and mind consenting*;—an essential condition in the case? 3ly, how so recovered from his previous state of alienation and distaste, as to be brought into feelings of loyalty and love without rival towards the Lord his Creator? Such (may I not say it?) were the connected questions.—What then if, *as the simple result of divine benevolence*, an act of amnesty had been then proclaimed by Jehovah; and the rebellion, without any farther process, been declared forgiven? Surely it needs not much consideration to see how not one of the difficulties of the case would have been so solved; not one of the great objects satisfactorily answered.—What again, supposing the necessity to have been recognized of some adequate sacrifice to the divine justice, in atonement for man's sin; and that the tremendous task had been undertaken, or proposed to be undertaken, by some benevolent arch-angelic created Spirit:—in such case, any more than in the former, would the grand objects have been accomplished? Surely not so. Besides, that it might seem almost an infringement of God's justice to allow

of a righteous and wholly unconnected created being suffering for the guilty one,¹ (as Abraham once said, “Wilt thou slay the righteous with the wicked? that be far from thee!”) besides, I say, this primary and *a priori* objection to the very idea of *such* a substituted sufferer, would the sacrifice have been of value high enough to satisfy infinite Justice, and adequately to stamp the brand of exceeding guiltiness on the sin of apostacy from God, before all the intelligences of the universe? Is it not said that “He chargeth even his angels with folly, and that the heavens are not clean in his sight?”²—Further, even if the suffering part were undertaken and carried out by a created angel, could he carry out the application of it to men’s multitudinous minds; so as to operate that internal change and recovery, without which all would be ineffectual? Had he the attributes of omnipotence, omniscience, omnipresence, through which alone all this could be accomplished?—Yet once more, and above all, supposing that all this *could* have been done, and *had been* done, by some arch-angelic Spirit, and so through him the lost family of man been recovered, whose would be the glory? Who the chief object of the overflowing gratitude of the redeemed ones of mankind? On whom the admiring gaze of heaven itself, for such transcendant self-sacrificing excellence? Surely on the created Arch-Angel, not on JEHOVAH

¹ This consideration appears to me one of much importance, in order to a right estimate of the work of man’s redemption by the God-man Christ Jesus.

² Job v. 18.

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the Creator.—No! on every ground such a plan of redemption was inadmissible. “I am JEHOVAH: that is my name: and my glory will I not give to another.” If man were to be recovered, JEHOVAH himself, and none but HE, must be the recoverer. Then, and in this case only, could the reclamations of his own justice be prevented; seeing that it was on no created innocent one that He imposed the sufferings of redemption, as man’s substitute, but on Himself:—then and then only the redeeming-price, as being an infinite one, be counted adequate:—then and then only the method such, as to make the sin of apostacy appear exceeding sinful; yea, more so even than by the world’s destruction:—then and then only the unfathomable depths of the glory of God’s own moral excellence be made manifest, by an example of *self-sacrificing love* absolutely and for ever matchless:—a manifestation which, but for sin’s entrance into the universe, must have been by all intelligent created beings probably unimaginable; and from which, after sin’s entrance, they must have thought God’s very Divinity of nature necessarily precluded him: but which (oh the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God!) he saw to be feasible through *the assumption of manhood into his Godhead*; and which, if so accomplished, would turn man’s sin itself into such a reflector of the brightness of his moral perfections, that all previous manifestations even of them might seem to pale in the comparison. Finally by such an acting out of love and grace to apostate

man, He would touch the only spring whereby man's own heart and will could be moved; and made consenting parties to his recovery:¹ and so begin a friendship that might be strengthened, and rendered dearer and dearer, by the thenceforth ceaseless communings with him of his own indwelling Spirit; until at length there might be some at least of the once apostate human family prepared to take a place nearer in love, and so nearer in glory, than even the angelic choir, to the throne of God.²—So, I say, and so only, might all this be effected. And so consequently was the plan settled on in the divine counsels: and so gradually opened and foretold in prophecy; and in due time also carried out:—carried out, (not however till after centuries of experience of the hopelessness of man's ever working out his own recovery,) through the incarnation, life, death, resurrection, and ascension of the self-sacrificing Friend of man, JEHOVAH JESUS.

My dear Brethren, it would be grateful to one's feelings, after such a train of thought, to mark in apostolic language how all that might have been so anticipated was fulfilled:—how the ransomed ones of the *family of man* loved Him, because He first loved them: and again, like the Cherubim depicted as bending over the golden mercy-seat that reflected the shekinah, or divine glory, in the Jewish temple,³ how the *angels* have ever since had their eyes fixed with intense admi-

¹ See on this Mr. Erskine's deeply interesting Treatise on the Internal Evidence of Christianity.

² Compare Rev. v. 11; where the redeemed elders and living creatures are depicted as in the inner circle round the throne; the angels, in the outer.

³ See Exod. xxxvii. 9.

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ration on the glories of God in redemption; and still looked and looked, though without ever fully satisfying the desire.¹ But time forbids my dwelling on this. I must hasten to a conclusion of my Lecture: not however without first expressly and strongly calling attention to the *moral* evidence of divine inspiration in Isaiah's and other Messianic prophecies of Holy Scripture, from the glorious views that they present of God's moral beauty and perfections; views surely such as never man could have imagined, and none but God alone could have revealed. This kind of evidence I hinted at in my 1st Lecture,² as what would be found perpetually interwoven with that which arises out of the fulfilment of its predictions in fact: and, as God has joined the two together, so, in man's consideration of the subject, they ought never to be separated.

And now what, after all this, was to be the *future* of the Messianic or Christian Church, thus constituted mainly out of enlightened Gentiles of the isles:—Gentiles incorporated as one with the apostles and small believing fraction of the Jews; and constituting together thenceforth God's *adopted*, in place of God's *natural* Israel? Very awful must have appeared to the Christian converts the malignity of that Spirit of evil which could in the first instance have tempted man in Paradise to rebel against their CREATOR GOD: and then afterwards led him to look for light and life

1 Pct. i. 12, εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἀγγελοὶ παρακυψαί.

² p. 2.

not to the Creator, but to the creature ; and to give God's glory to others, and his praise to graven images. LECT.
III.
But could it be possible, our inquirer might think, that after God's gospel-scheme of matchless love for man's recovery had been fully unfolded, and after JESUS the REDEEMER GOD had constituted a Christian Church of his redeemed ones, that malignant Spirit should ever again operate successfully, so as to reproduce apostacy from God, and practically transfer to others his glory in redemption?—Even so. The founder of our Lecture bids us to go forward in our comparison of prophecy and history. And, please God we meet again, we shall have to trace something sadder than even the errings of the old Gentile philosophers and people:—viz., the gradual willing lapse of a professedly Christian Church into darkness and Gentile-like apostacy ; apostacy not merely from JEHOVAH the *Creator*, but from *the Redeemer*, the *self-sacrificing Redeemer*, JEHOVAH JESUS.

SECOND TRIAD OF LECTURES.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH'S GRADUAL DECLENSION
TOWARDS ANTICHRISTIAN APOSTACY, AS PRE-
DICTED BY ST. PAUL, AND AS FULFILLED.

LECTURE I.

THE FIRST PRINCIPLES AND GERMS OF THE MYSTERY
OF INIQUITY, OR GREAT PREDICTED ANTICHRISTIAN
APOSTACY, AS WORKING IN THE APOSTOLIC TIMES.

2 THESS. II. 1—12.

“NOW WE BESEECH YOU, BRETHREN, IN REGARD OF ¹ THE COMING OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, AND OF OUR GATHERING TOGETHER UNTO HIM, THAT YE BE NOT SOON SHAKEN IN MIND, OR TROUBLED,² NEITHER BY SPIRIT, NOR BY WORD, NOR BY LETTER AS FROM US, AS THAT THE DAY OF CHRIST IS AT HAND.³ LET NO MAN DECEIVE YOU BY ANY MEANS. FOR THAT DAY SHALL NOT COME, EXCEPT THERE COME FIRST THE APOSTACY;⁴ AND THAT MAN OF SIN BE REVEALED, THE SON OF PERDITION, WHO OPPOSETH AND EXALTEH HIMSELF ABOVE ALL THAT IS CALLED GOD, OR THAT IS WORSHIPPED: SO THAT HE [AS GOD]⁵ SITTETH IN THE TEMPLE OF GOD, SHOWING HIMSELF THAT HE IS GOD. REMEMBER YE NOT THAT, WHEN I WAS YET WITH YOU, I TOLD YOU THESE THINGS? AND NOW YE KNOW WHAT WITHHOLDETH THAT HE MIGHT BE REVEALED IN HIS TIME. FOR THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY DOTH ALREADY WORK: ONLY HE WHO NOW LETTETH WILL LET UNTIL HE BE TAKEN OUT OF THE WAY. AND THEN SHALL THAT WICKED ONE BE REVEALED, WHOM THE LORD SHALL CONSUME WITH THE SPIRIT OF HIS MOUTH, AND SHALL DESTROY WITH THE BRIGHTNESS OF HIS COMING. EVEN HIM WHOSE COMING IS AFTER THE

¹ ὑπὲρ τῆς παρουσίας. So ὑπὲρ is often used; e.g. Rom. ix. 27; &c.

² θροεῖσθαι: rather, *agitated*.

³ ἐνεσκηκεν.

⁴ ἡ ἀποστασία.

⁵ This clause is rejected by the critical Editions.

WORKING OF SATAN, WITH ALL POWER, AND SIGNS, AND LYING WONDERS: AND WITH ALL DECEIVABLENESS OF UNRIGHTEOUSNESS IN THEM THAT PERISH, BECAUSE THEY RECEIVED NOT THE LOVE OF THE TRUTH THAT THEY MIGHT BE SAVED. AND FOR THIS CAUSE GOD SHALL SEND THEM STRONG DELUSION, THAT THEY SHOULD BELIEVE A LIE: THAT THEY ALL MIGHT BE CONDEMNED WHO BELIEVED NOT THE TRUTH, BUT HAD PLEASURE IN UNRIGHTEOUSNESS.”¹

In the first Triad of my Warburtonian Lectures, preached here the last winter season, I took for my subject *the Christian Church's primary institution*, as predicted by Isaiah, and as fulfilled. In this their second Triad, and for the winter now commencing, I propose taking for my subject *the Christian Church's gradual declension into antichristian apostacy*, as predicted by St. Paul in the passage just read for my text, and as fulfilled. Dividing the subject, I shall hope in the first of my three Lectures this season to consider *the first principles and germs of the “mystery of iniquity,”* or great predicted antichristian apostacy, *as already at work in the Church even in apostolic times*, a period reaching to the end of the 1st century:—in the second, *its gradual unfolding more and more in the course of the 2nd and 3rd centuries*, down to the famous æra of the great politico-religious revolution of the Roman world under Constantine and his successors:—in the third, *its still further growth in the next two or three centuries*; until at length, by the close of the 6th, it had become *an apostacy fully developed and dominant, under the headship of the Man of Sin, or Roman Papal Antichrist*, in the place of its rightful head, CHRIST JESUS.

LECT.

I.

¹ Some critical remarks on certain Greek words of importance in the text will be added afterwards.

SECOND
TRIAD.

Before entering however on my present Lecture's special topic from the text,—viz. *the first symptoms and workings in the Christian Churches of apostolic times of that evil leaven which was after a while to issue in the Church's direct antichristianism and apostacy*,—it may be well to set certain various *preliminary considerations* before you, under a distinct and primary Head.

I. And 1st among these, and as a fit introduction to the whole subject of my present Triad of Lectures, let me advert to what was said of *God's ultimate object in redemption*, at the close of my third Lecture last winter.—It may be in the recollection of those who then attended, that, having in the two previous Lectures illustrated the prediction, and the fact, of God's bringing into covenanted relationship with himself a community, or elect Church of Gentiles, enlightened and sanctified, from out of the otherwise hopeless darkness and corruption of heathenism, and engrafted on the apostolic stock, as God's *adopted*, in place of the unbelieving and now repudiated *natural* Israel,—all through the agency of his own long announced commissioner for the purpose, the Messiah Christ Jesus,—attention was then directed to the closing clause of the prophecy in Isaiah, “I am JEHOVAH; that is my name; and *my glory will I not give to another, nor my praise to graven images*:”—the matter in which his glory was concerned being evidently that of enlightening and emancipating the Gentiles spoken of: while the parties against whom He would maintain

that his privilege, and his glory, were alike all human teachers who might pretend (however vainly) to be the moral enlighteners and saviors of their fellow-men; and all beings also of a higher order than man's; whether real angelic spirits, or imaginary dead men deified, such as the heathen ignorantly represented in their graven images, and worshipped as the mediators and guardian spirits of the human race. And, after showing how this declaration had fulfilment in the case of the Church's salvation through CHRIST JESUS, from the fact of JESUS being in very truth none other than JEHOVAH incarnate, there was further set forth the necessity of God's thus vindicating the glory of it to himself, which arose from his very nature. Himself, the alone infinitely perfect One, and one and only proper object of supreme love and admiration, it could not be that, when occasion arose, so as in the work of fallen man's redemption, for exhibiting, in the self-sacrificing love requisite, an acting out of excellence admirable and lovely beyond all other previously known exhibitions of benevolence and goodness,—He should admit of angel, or archangel, or any other created being acting it out, and so deserving the glory: i. e., supposing them capable of doing the thing, which was however on every other ground impossible. Himself alone must do it; Himself alone obtain and claim the glory; or the result be the moral ruin of the universe.—Such was the topic which I then endeavoured to enforce, from the last clause of the passage in Isaiah; and which it seems to me of much importance

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that we should never forget in our investigations of the subsequent history of the professing Christian Church ; its history specially in regard of its relationship of loyalty or disloyalty to its redeemer God.—And perhaps, in order to deepen the impression, I may be permitted to mention that one as eminent as beloved in the Society which it is now my privilege to address, —one who regularly attended the three former Lectures, and purposed, should God spare his life, to attend the rest of the course,—I say that the late Vice-Chancellor of England, Sir Lancelot Shadwell, expressed to me strongly on that occasion his sense of its importance. I understood from him that it was a subject on which his own mind had previously thought and felt much. In his divine wisdom God has since then seen fit to take to Himself that distinguished individual from among us. But sure I am that, now that he has joined the assembly of the spirits of just men made perfect, and been admitted more nearly to the beatific vision, his admiration of God's incomparable glory in the work of redemption, as but the necessary efflux, and expression as it were, of his own infinite perfection, will not have diminished : nor his appreciation of the fitness of God's holy jealousy that no created being, whether man or angel, should in any way be set up as having rival claims to the glory ; or so as to intercept the outflowing of the heart's best homage of gratitude and affection directly, and distinctively, towards their Redeemer God, from each and every one of the redeemed family of man.

2. *And how then did the Christian Church herein at first answer to its duty?* Here comes a 2nd point for preliminary notice.—When directing our regard then to the earlier days of the primitive Church, if we ask the question, Did it render back in any measure according to the benefit received, and, “as a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a peculiar people, show forth the praises of Him who had called it out of darkness into his marvellous light,”¹—the answer may surely be in the affirmative. Mark in what is recorded of that early Church how Christ, the Saviour God, was the object of all the teaching of the Church’s teachers, and of all the gratitude, love, and willing obedience of each Christian’s heart! What but his death of atonement did they regard as the meritorious cause of their redemption: redeemed, as they felt they had been, “not by corruptible things, like silver and gold, but by the blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot?” Whose but his the justifying righteousness on which they rested: their own best righteousness by the law, whether moral or ceremonial, seeming to them as but dross; and *his* the one and only perfect righteousness, which was to be “unto all and upon all them that believed?” Whom, again, but Him, did they look to as their intercessor and mediator with God? For the types of the Levitical priesthood, they saw, had been all fulfilled in Him; and that He was their one great High Priest, past into the heavens; their advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the

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righteous. In like manner they viewed Him as the head of his body the Church, from which the vital energy was to flow forth to each of the members ; its centre of unity ; and guide too into all truth, by his word and by his Spirit. Nor was his glorious relationship of King to his people ever forgotten by them. And nothing was there that they so looked and longed for as his coming again in his kingdom and glory ; to take them to himself, and to be admired in all them that believed.—Thus was “ their life hid with Christ in God.” “ Having not seen him, they yet loved him : and in him, believing, they rejoiced with joy unspeakable and full of glory.” Their eye was directed to Him as not alone “ the author,” but also “ the finisher, of their faith.” The Church’s chief glory, they felt, was to show forth his glory : and church ministers, and church ordinances, valuable chiefly as the divinely-appointed instrumentalities for helping them on to more intimate personal communion with, and devotedness of heart to, Himself their Saviour God.

And hence, and while the Christian Church, at this opening epoch of its existence, did so give promise of answering to the object and duties of its high vocation, it seems scarcely to be wondered at that the hope should have been cherished, even by apostles, that the period was then near about commencing for the realization of the glorious times of Messiah’s reign over a regenerated world, told of in all prophecy. For such was evidently St. Peter’s implied expectation in the address recorded in the 2nd chapter of the Acts :

—“*This* is that which was spoken of by the prophet Joel, It shall come to pass *in the last days*, saith God, that I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh.”¹ And so again Acts iii. 19; “Repent, and be converted, that the times of refreshing may come from the presence of the Lord: and He may send Jesus; whom the heaven must receive until those times of the restitution of all things, of which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began. . . . For all the prophets have foretold *these* days.”² So, I say, seems for a while to have hoped St. Peter. But very different was God’s foreknowing view of the future; very different his all-wise purpose respecting the Church.

3. Do we ask, *wherefore* so different a future to the Church? Amidst all the mysteriousness of the fact of God’s permission of sin in this our world, we can, I

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² Acts iii. 19—21, 24.—In verse 19 of this extract I have translated *ὅπως* *αν* *εἰθῶσι*, “*that* the times of refreshing may come,” according to the usual sense of the word *ὅπως*; instead of *when*, so as it is rendered in the authorized English translation.—I have also in verse 21 distinctly referred the relative *ὧν*, in the clause *αχρι χρονων αποκατασσεως παντων ὧν* *εἰλαλησεν* *ὁ* *Θεος*, to the *χρονων*, not to the *παντων*; a reference grammatically admissible, and all but absolutely required by the sense. For the antecedent to a relative is not necessarily the antecedent noun next before preceding. E. g. in Jude 15, *περι παντων των εργαων αυτων ὧν* *ησεβησαν*, the antecedent to the *ὧν* is not the pronoun *αυτων*, but the *εργων*. In such clauses as these, the antecedent noun is taken, together with the word or words following and defining its meaning, as conjunctively constituting the antecedent to the relative.

On these points I have entered more fully in my *Horæ Apoc.* Vol. iv. pp. 168, 169 (4th Edit.): and there shown that I have the concurrence of most critical expositors with me in these my renderings and explanations.

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think, scarcely be wrong in supposing two reasons for his having so permitted it :—the *one* (on which I have already dwelt in a preceding Lecture) that of its furnishing occasion for a manifestation of *his own infinite grace and goodness*, such as otherwise there never could have been ; the *other*, (to which I must now briefly invite your attention,) that of its manifestation to all intelligent creatures, more especially after Jesus Christ's carrying out his work of redemption, in manner and measure such as otherwise never could have been, of *the exceeding evil and malignity of sin*. Before Jesus Christ's incarnation and death it was a thing supposable at least, that, though, under temptation, the creature left to itself might indeed apostatize from God, so as did Adam, when known only as a God of benevolence in the creation, yet that, after the revelation of his character of matchless self-sacrificing love, so as in redemption, sinful nature itself would yield to such a manifestation of goodness, and bow vanquished at the foot of the cross. But, once admitted into the creature's heart, the evil of sin was to be exhibited as absolutely and essentially illimitable. Temptation only, fit and strong, was needed in the new-formed Christian Church to demonstrate this. Nor was the same great tempter now wanting to the occasion who had before tempted man to apostatize from his God in Paradise.

4. And so, 4ly, as to *the prime agent* in the coming evil.—It has been well said by Schlegel in his Philosophy of History, that “ he only who recognizes the

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magnitude of the power permitted to the *Wicked Principle*,¹ according to the inscrutable decrees of God, from the curse of Cain, and sign of the curse in that evil principle's unimpeded transmission through all the false religions of heathenism, . . . I say, that that man is alone capable of understanding the great phenomena of universal history, in their often strange and dark complexity.* Might not the same be said, Brethren, of what passes in the inner history of each single individual soul; conscious as we must most of us at times be of certain strange, strong, sudden, and almost irresistible accesses of temptation to evil? So does the voice within, as well as that of general history, concur on this point with the clear doctrine of Scripture. More especially (as my text and subject call me to observe) the remark applies to the phenomena of Church history; which have assuredly exhibited not less of strange and dark complexity than those of heathen history, nor less clearly indicated the working of Satan. Infinitely malignant in his nature, we cannot doubt that, as our first parents' happiness in Paradise had long before stirred up his envy, so now the happiness of Christ's gospel Church, in its primitive state of holiness and joy. Yet more, as it is enmity against *God* which above all else is the master-principle within him, and the brighter the manifestation of the divine excellence, the bitterer his jealousy and hatred, we may

¹ Lect. xv. Vol. ii. p. 199.—It is evident that Schlegel means a *person* by this expression: for he elsewhere designates him as the *Spirit of evil*; making suggestions to man, in opposition to the suggestions of the Divine Spirit. Ib. p. 197.

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And when the ascended Redeemer God took seat amidst the angelic hierarchies, with a radiance of moral glory surrounding him absolutely incomparable, and looked down complacently from his heavenly throne upon the earth which he had so lovingly, and at such cost, ransomed from ruin, the thoughts and feelings of Satan may perhaps be not inaptly figured under those words of address to the *material* sun of our system, ascribed to him by our great poet ;¹

O thou that with surpassing glory crowned
Look'st from thy sole dominion like the God
Of this fair world, at whose sight all the stars
Hide their diminished heads, to thee I call,
But with no friendly voice ; and add thy name,
O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams.

With such feelings his plans of action seem soon to have been formed. The Christian Church, enlightened by the Sun of Righteousness, had been constituted, like the moon, that faithful witness in heaven, for the purpose of reflecting Jesus Christ's glory before the world. What then his fit counter-schemes? Just these :—first, if possible, to overwhelm and utterly extinguish the Church by direct persecution from without :—secondly, and meanwhile, to implant principles of corruption within it, such as, in the event of its surviving, might, when matured change its very character ; and cause that, though still called Christian, yet its reflections and its actings, instead of doing homage to the God-man Christ Jesus, should

¹ Parad. Lost, Book iv.

rather do homage to the creature man; yea, and, through him, to *Satan himself*.—If he had been successful in seducing man into apostacy from his God in Paradise, was there ought to make him despair of success now? No doubt the Christian Church was bound to its divine Lord and Saviour by ties yet closer and more endearing than those which bound Adam and Eve to him in Paradise; and ties consequently harder to be broken. But he had the advantage now, which he wanted then, of man's being, even in the Church of Christ, a fallen creature. And the tendencies of that fallen nature to self-righteousness and self-will, carnality and worldliness, and a leaning on the creature rather than the Creator,—these tendencies could scarce fail of soon furnishing him, in case of both ministers and people, with a groundwork on which to ply his temptations with effect.

Accordingly not alone was the mass of the Jewish people impelled blindly and fiercely (as by a master-spirit of delusion)¹ to persist in its rejection of Christ's gospel message,—not alone were the heathen rulers and populace stirred up from early times to persecute the Christian disciples,—but spirits of delusion and error became soon evidently at work *within the professing Christian body itself*. Then the truth and significance of our Lord's own prophetic intimations about the future fortunes and phases of the Christian Church must have begun to break upon the minds of the apostolic teachers among the faithful; not with-

¹ See on this John viii. 44, 2 Cor. iv. 4, Rev. ii. 10, &c.

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out recollection probably of others to a similar effect, in one at least of the Old Testament prophets. A future very different from what they had at first so joyously anticipated loomed darkly before them; (whether, in God's all-wise Providential purpose, it was to be of longer or shorter duration;) ere their heart's longing should have its fulfilment in the establishment of Jesus Christ's kingdom on earth. And, under inspiration of the Holy Ghost, the apostles themselves (more especially St. Paul, and then St. John) were directed to take up the previous obscurer prophecies of the Christian's Church's future; and to set them forth with greater distinctness of application, and details fuller and more explicit.

5. And thus, ere proceeding to Paul's prediction in my text, I am led to invite your attention to one ever memorable prophecy of this kind given by *Christ* himself, and one given by *Daniel*. They are prophecies intimately connected together; and intimately connected too with that which constitutes our main subject, the prediction in St. Paul's Epistle to the Thessalonians: indeed so connected that we can scarcely enter on the consideration of that last-mentioned prophecy, with any right appreciation of the previous prophetic light under which St. Paul would utter and the disciples ponder it, except by prominently and distinctly bearing them in mind.

It was thus then that *Jesus Christ*, in one of his prophetic parables,¹ spoke of the future fortunes of

¹ Matt. xiii. 24.

“ the kingdom of heaven : ” i. e. of the associated LECT.
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body of those who should professedly recognize Him as their King, and aspire to a place in his heavenly kingdom ; in other words the Christian association, or Church. “ The kingdom of heaven is like to a man who sowed good seed in his field. But while men slept, his enemy [mark, *his enemy*]¹ came and sowed ζιζανια² among the wheat ; and went his way. But when the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the ζιζανια also. So the servants of the householder came and said unto him, Sir, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field ? From whence then hath it ζιζανια ? He said, An enemy hath done this. The servants said, Wilt thou then that we go, and gather them up ? But he said Nay ; lest while ye gather up the ζιζανια, ye root up also the wheat with them. Let both grow together until the harvest. And, at the time of harvest, I will say to the reapers, Gather ye together first the ζιζανια, and bind them in bundles to burn them : but gather my wheat into my barn.”—And then Christ added the explanation following. “ He that sowed the good seed is the Son of man. The field is the world. The good seed are the children of the kingdom ; but the ζιζανια are the children of the Wicked One. The enemy that sowed them is the Devil. The harvest is the end of the world : the reapers are the Angels. As

¹ See my remarks, pp. 99, 100, *suprà*.

² Not *tares* ; but a kind of *wheat-like weed* still called *ziwan* by the Arabs in Palestine ; probably the same as our *darnel*, and as the *infelix lolium* of Virgil. Kitto.

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therefore the ζιζανια were gathered and burned in the fire, so shall it be at the end of the world. The Son of man shall send forth his Angels. And they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them that do iniquity; and shall cast them into a furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father."

In this prophetic parable, we may observe, it was not stated to what extent the ζιζανια would intermix with the wheat in the Christian harvest-field; and whether so as to attain to be a majority, or not:—a most important question evidently. Yet certain hints given elsewhere by Jesus Christ to the disciples seemed to intimate that they *would* become the majority:—such as when he spoke of many being called, but few chosen; of the flock being but a little one to which the Father would give the kingdom; of the way to life being narrow, and few walking therein; also of *many* saying to him in the great day of judgment, "Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name," to whom it would be his answer, "I never knew you."¹ And, in the event of the ζιζανια being thus the majority, the consequence would follow almost neces-

¹ The fact of the white-robed redeemed ones being designated as a multitude that no man could number, Apoc. vii. 9, does not gainsay this view:—because the multitude so seen in vision represented the aggregate of the faithful in heart of *all generations*, as well as nations, subsequent to the development of the great apostacy. What in my present subject I refer to is the *comparative* number of the faithful living on earth at any given time after the coming in of the apostacy; I mean their number as compared with the false in heart and unfaithful.

sarily that these *ζιζανια* would then claim to be true wheat in the Christian harvest-field, and excommu-
 nicate the true wheat as *ζιζανια*: that is, supposing the *ζιζανια* not to remain individuals detached and separate, but to have combined together in some form of political organization and power. Which that they would sooner or later do, though nowhere stated by *Jesus Christ*, might yet seem to the more instructed and discerning of the early Christians to be a result not only possible, but one darkly shadowed forth by *Daniel* in the latter half of the prophecy in his xith chapter.

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Turn we next, then, to this passage in *Daniel*. It occurs at the close of a long prophetic sketch of the fortunes of the Ægypto and Syro-Macedonian lines of kings; who, after Alexander the Great's death, were alternately to have rule in Palestine, until their supercession there by a new power destined to come in ships from Chittim, i. e. the Roman. In sequence to which, though not till after the fact of some *abomination that would make desolate* being set up in the Holy Place, (a desolation which Christ himself explains as the desolation of Jerusalem by the Romans,) and this, it seemed, on the nation's ignoring and cutting off of its Saviour God, (for Daniel elsewhere notes *this* act as connected with *the abomination making desolate*,²)

¹ I beg to refer to a fuller and elaborate exposition given of this prophecy in the 4th Volume of my *Horæ Apoc.* pp. 80—95. (4th Ed.)

² We must here compare Dan. xi. 31 with Dan. ix. 24—27, as well as with Jesus Christ's reference to the two in Matt. xxiv. 15. In Dan. ix. the cutting off of Messiah, and therein the rise of Israel's transgression to its acme, (so Theodoret explains the *completing of the*

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there was notice added also by the prophet of "some of understanding" that would know Him, a characteristic applicable surely most exactly to the apostles and other Christian believers of the early apostolic times;¹ and how these would be strong, and do exploits, and instruct many. Then, after statement about the people's (the *Jewish* people's apparently)² "falling by the sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil, for many days," just as Jesus Christ himself also prophesied respecting the Jews,³ it was said further that *many would cleave to those of understanding* (faithful Christians) *with flatteries*, i. e. in hypocritical and false *profess-transgression* in Dan. ix. 24,) is connected with that *overspreading of abominations* for which the sanctuary and the city of Jerusalem were to be made desolate by the people of the *Prince to come*, or Romans that came in the ships from Chittim.—As to "*the covenant*" spoken of as transgressed against in Dan. xi. 32, (ὁ ἀνομώτης κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην,) it is well illustrated by Gal. iii. 17; and seems to be that *gospel covenant* promised to Abraham, which the law, given 430 years after, could not disannul.

I have in my last Edition of the *Horæ* (iv. 617) stated my view of *the abomination in the holy place* as meaning the consummated iniquity of the Jews: after the gospel, witnessed to by the Holy Spirit, had been determinately rejected by them; and when their Christ-rejecting zealots, occupying the holy place itself in the Jewish war, filled it with their murders and blasphemies. For hence the judgment of Jerusalem's desolation.

¹ Compare John i. 10—12; "He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and *the world knew him not*. He came unto his own, and his own received him not. . . . But *we* beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father." Also Acts xiii. 27; "For they that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, *because they knew him not*, nor yet the voices of the prophets which are read every sabbath-day, fulfilled them in condemning him:" and 1 Cor. ii. 8; "that wisdom of God which *none of the princes of this world knew*: for, had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory."

² My persuasion continues of this being the correct view of the clause in Daniel. See *Horæ* Apoc. iv. 84.

³ Luke xxi. 24.

sion; therein answering to the *ζιζανία* intermixing with the wheat in the Christian gospel-field.—Such is our starting-point in the connexion of Daniel's prophecy with Christ's prophetic parable.—Then further there was sketched in Daniel's prophecy the general subsequent destiny of the one class and the other. Respecting *those that had understanding*, and who really *knew their Saviour God*, it was stated that some out of their number should fall; though only as a means of "trying and purifying and making them white;" and this even "to the end:"—at which time of the end "they that were wise would shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turned many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever;" just as was predicated also of the ultimate glory of the wheat, or righteous, in Jesus Christ's prophetic parable. On the other hand, as regarded the many *false adherents* to them of understanding, (or false members of the Christian Church apparently,) the prophecy intimated that there would arise a *king* or *chief to them*¹ who would do according to his will,¹ invest the apostacy with supreme dominant power,

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¹ *To them*, because of their being spoken of in the immediate context. This is the pivot on which the right explanation of "*the king*" spoken of seems to me to turn.

² I have in my *Horæ Apoc.* (iv. 86) noticed the preposterousness of the appellation of *wilful king* given by certain expositors to this potentate. The expression is the same that is applied to the kings spoken of before in verses 3 and 16, whom expositors, alike ancient and modern, concur very generally in explaining to mean Alexander the Great and Antiochus the Great: and simply indicates the *measure of the king's power*; without any reference whatsoever to *character* and *disposition*, so as the English word *wilful*.

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and use it to the exaltation of himself above every God. To all which would be added blasphemy also against the God of Gods, Jehovah: this last distinctive identifying him apparently (here was another point for consideration) with the little horn of the 4th of the four wild beasts, (that same beast that symbolized the *Roman* power,) in the previous prefigurative vision of Dan. vii. Supposing which identification to be correct, his power (as also that of the false professors whose king he was,) would last, like the little horn's, even to the advent of the Son of man in glory; and then come to an end by the beast's being slain, and his body given to the burning flame.—In which judgment there was another point of correspondence with Christ's parable of the tares and wheat. For, as the wheat, or righteous of the parable, were there set forth as rewarded at the consummation with shining as the sun in the firmament, so the *ἡζανια*, or false and wicked members of the professing Church, were spoken of as gathered together for burning, and cast into a furnace of fire.

Such were the two chief prophecies already given ere St. Paul's founding of the Macedonian and Achaian churches,—the one explicit, the other darker and more obscure,—in regard of the foreseen admixture of false with true members from early times in the Christian Church, and the general subsequent destiny of each, even until the time of the end. And though the Thessalonian Christians, being mostly Gentiles by birth, would themselves probably be unacquainted with

Daniel's book at the time of St. Paul's writing to them, as well as with the parable of the wheat and *ζιζανια*, (St. Matthew's gospel in its Greek form having been either unpublished as yet, or at least not yet brought into circulation at Thessalonica,) yet must Paul himself have been necessarily well acquainted with both the one and other : and have had them in his eye, more especially Daniel's prophecy, alike when he *spoke* with the disciples of the newly-formed Thessalonian Church on the subject of the apostacy and man of sin,¹ and when he *wrote* about it soon after in his second Epistle to them from Corinth.²

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II. And now, my *preliminary matter* having been all gone through, and being thus better prepared for realizing to ourselves St. Paul's stand-point on prophetic, as well as on historic ground, when he wrote his famous prophecy, and for judging how far, while writing it under divine inspiration, he might have brought forth out of his treasury on the subject things old, as well as things new, let us turn to *St. Paul's prophecy itself*. And here I propose first to sketch briefly the occasion and general purport of the prophecy ; then next to invite your special attention to so much of it as relates to the first germs of the apostacy that it predicted ; and to illustrate historically its fulfilment even in apostolic times. "The mystery of iniquity," said St. Paul, "doth *already* work."

1. As to the *occasion* of the prophecy, it was as fol-

¹ "Remember ye not that, when I was yet with you, I told you these things ?" 2 Thess. ii. 5.

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lows. Soon after writing his 1st Epistle to the Thessalonian converts from Corinth (about A.D. 51,) ¹ St. Paul heard that these Thessalonians were much agitated by the idea of the day of Jesus Christ's second coming, and the attendant rapture of his saints to meet Him, ² being close at hand : ³ an impression arising, it would appear, in part from misconstruction of certain expressions in St. Paul's own 1st Epistle to them, ⁴ in part from certain pretended revelations to

¹ See my sketch of the Chronology of the Acts of the Apostles in the Appendix to this Volume.

² ὑπερ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡμῶν ἐπισυναγωγῆς πρὸς αὐτόν. On the word ὑπερ, see my Note p. 90.

³ ὥς ὅτι ἐνεσηκεν ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ. I give much the same rendering of the word ἐνεσηκεν as that given in our authorized version.

Objection has been made of late, especially by some of the Plymouth brethren, that ἐνεσηκεν, wherever elsewhere used in Scripture, means *actually present*, not *near at hand* : and they have built on this the somewhat extraordinary notion that the agitation of the Thessalonian Christians arose from the belief of the Lord's great day of judgment being *actually come*, and *in course of progress*.—But precisely the same criticism might be applied to the precisely parallel expression παρῆσι. Wherever elsewhere used in Scripture, except in John xi. 28, it means being *actually present*. Yet in John xi. 28 it cannot mean actual presence ; since it is said a verse or two after, " Now Jesus was *not yet come into the town*, but was in the place where Martha met him." Common sense, in either case alike, enforces a certain latitude to the meaning of the expression ; a latitude common in conversation to all such phrases, in all languages. How could the Thessalonian Christians believe that the day of Christ was *actually come*, when that coming's primary result, as told by Paul himself, was to be the rising of the dead saints to meet him in the air ; and then, immediately after, the rapture of the living ?

⁴ " Then *we* which are alive, and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air." So 1 Thess. iv. 17. The Thessalonians construed the *we* strictly, of the Christians then alive. St. Paul meant simply those of the *Christian body*, of which body he and the Thessalonian Christians formed part, who should be alive at the time of Christ's second coming.

that effect, reported by some profest members of the Christian Church there. But this was not according to the divine foreknowledge and purpose. And he judged it necessary to write a second Epistle to correct the mistake. Before Jesus Christ's second coming, he told them, there was to be some new and remarkable development of sin, in what he calls "*the apostacy*:" this being an apostacy evidently from the true, that is the *Christian* faith: while the definite article by which it was designated might indicate reference either to Daniel's previous prophecy of it; or to St. Paul's own previous conversational notice of it to the Thessalonians; or possibly to its surpassing greatness and evil, as compared with other apostacies from the faith. Moreover he stated that the germ and leaven of the coming mystery of iniquity, *το μυστηριον της ανομιας*, (a term similar to that used by Daniel of the Jews' great transgression in rejecting God's new covenant and law in Christ Jesus,) ¹ was *even then* at work; at work (for how else could the result be an apostacy from Christian faith?) *within the Christian professing Church*. Such was the first preparatory stage of the evil.—Afterwards at length, he added,

LECT.
I.

¹ *δι ανομηντες κατα την διαθηκην*. Dan. xi. 32.—Compare Dan. ix. 27, where Messiah is spoken of as "confirming *the covenant* (*την διαθηκην*) with many for one week:" to which previous prophecy, as before stated, (see Note p. 105, 106,) it seems to me that the reference is marked, and most important to be noted.—Compare too Hosea vi. 7; "But they, like Adam, (marg.) have *transgressed the covenant*, and dealt treacherously against me:" a verse following the statement, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice;" which Jesus Christ himself, Matt. ix. 13, refers to his own times, and own offer of *the gospel covenant*.

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the apostacy, being matured, would have for its head a person, or power, called *the man of sin, the wicked or lawless one, and son of perdition* : but this not until a certain let or hindrance, then existing, was taken out of the way : which hindrance, alike from the distinct tradition of the early Church about it,¹ and from the consistency too of that explanation with Daniel's partially correspondent prophecies,² we can scarcely doubt to have been the Imperial power then reigning at Rome. Then, he said, that man of sin would sit in God's temple, or the professing Christian Church, exhibiting himself as God ; and continue in power, professing and acting out these his blasphemous pretensions, until consumed and annihilated by the brightness of Christ's second coming.

In this succinct sketch of the general purport of St. Paul's prophecy (the correspondence of which with Daniel's cannot but have struck you, and which will be noted further ere I conclude my course this season,) I have taken for granted the correctness of the usual Protestant view of one or two expressions used in it about which there has been of late much controversy : more especially as to *the apostacy* being one of false and heretical members *within* the pale of the professing Christian Church, (just like the *ζιζανια* of Christ's parable,) not of profest infidels *without* it :

¹ So Tertullian, Irenæus, Hippolytus, Jerom, Chrysostom, &c.

² It was not until the disruption of the Roman empire, symbolized by the 4th of the four wild beasts in the vision of Dan. vii, and its new formation into ten kingdoms, that the *little horn* (St. Paul's *man of sin*) was to arise.

and of the *temple of God*, in which the man of sin was to sit when manifested, meaning not any literal temple at Jerusalem, present or future, but that symbolic temple which St. Paul spoke of to Timothy and the Corinthians,¹ viz. *the professing Church*. The correctness of this seems to me most evident; and I shall hope to establish it in a subsequent Lecture, when brought in the course of my argument to treat specifically of *the apostacy* so predicted, and *man of sin*, its chief and head. In what remains of the present Lecture I must confine myself to a more particular examination of *the first working of the mystery of iniquity* in the times of St. Paul and his brother apostles: tracing this in the various heresies and corruptions whereby the professing Church was even then tempted and defiled; and showing their bearing on, and preparation for, the great antichristian apostacy, (albeit covertly and insidiously, as its appellative *mystery* implies,) and reign of the man of sin, that was to follow.—Let me only suggest, ere proceeding, how completely, in case of the whole prophecy having its accomplishment, the Evil One's grand object would be attained of robbing Christ of his rightful praise and glory for the work of redemption: seeing that even in the Churches called by his name another person, a mere man, would then sit upon his throne, and *he* bear the glory, and *he* wear the crown:² a

¹ 1 Tim. iii. 15; 1 Cor. iii. 16; 2 Cor. vi. 16.

² In contrast with the rights of Messiah, thus set forth in Zech. vi. 12:—"Behold the man whose name is *The Branch*! He shall build

SECOND usurper instead of the rightful king, the Lord Christ
 TRIAD. Jesus.

2. I turn then now to the proof of certain first germs of the great predicted mystery of iniquity having begun to pullulate within the professing Church even in St. Paul's own time; an evidence which we must seek of course in the apostolic records of those times; more especially in the epistles of St. Paul himself.—And the following will, I think, be found to be the chief notices in his Epistles of sundry corruptions, or attempted corruptions, in doctrine and practice, the spirit of which in godly jealousy he discerned and denounced in the early Christian Churches:—Churches, as we should always remember, of which the nucleus was constituted by converts to Christianity from among the Jews of the dispersion, and Judaized Gentile proselytes that had worshipped together with them in their synagogues in the various cities of the Gentiles; though in most cases the direct converts from Gentilism constituted the majority of members:—whence, and from such double origin, a correspondent liability to temptations as well of Jewish as of Gentile origin.¹—My reference to

the temple of the Lord; and he shall bear the glory; and shall sit and rule upon his throne, and shall be a priest upon his throne.”

¹ “As the Jews, distributed at this time over every part of the Roman empire, ‘had in every city them that preached *Moses* every sabbath day,’ so it might be said that *Plato* and *Aristotle*, *Zeno* and *Epicurus*, had in every city those that preached them. Side by side with the doctrines of Judaism, the speculations of Greek philosophers were, not indeed read in connexion with religious worship, but orally

the Epistles will be pretty much in their chronological order.¹

LECT.

I.

First, then, in his Letter to the *Galatian* or *Gallo-Greek* Churches,² (written some 4 or 5 years after that to the Thessalonians,) which evidently included like others a certain proportion of converted Hellenic Jews and Proselytes, the apostle notices certain Judaizing though professedly Christian teachers, who with too much success had been there instilling their poison. It was precisely in the same spirit, and with the same tendency, as those Judaizing though professedly Christian teachers, who had some years before gone down from Jerusalem to Antioch, saying to the converted

taught and publicly discussed in the schools. Hence the Jews in their foreign settlements were surrounded,—not only by an idolatry which shocked all their deepest feelings, and by a shameless profligacy unforbidden by, and even associated with, that which the Gentiles called religion,—but also by a proud and contemptuous philosophy, that alienated the more educated classes of society to as great a distance as the unthinking multitude.”

So Messrs. Howson and Conybeare, i. 219, in their very valuable and interesting Work, recently published, on “the Life and Epistles of St. Paul :” of which Work I gladly avail myself in the revision of this part of my 4th Lecture.

¹ See my Chronological Chart on the Acts of the Apostles in the Appendix to this Volume, already before referred to.

² “The emigration of the Gauls, which ended in their settlement in Asia Minor, is less famous than those which led to the disasters in Italy and Greece ; but is in fact identical with the latter of those two emigrations. The warriors who roamed over the Cevennes, or by the banks of the Garonne, reappear on the Halys ; being a stream from that torrent of barbarians which poured into Greece in the 3rd century B. C., and which recoiled in confusion from the cliffs at Delphi. . . . Jerome says that the language spoken at Ancyra [the Galatian capital] in his day was almost identical with that at Trêves. . . . There they exchanged the superstitions of Druidism for the worship of Cybele.” Howson and Conybeare, i. 262.

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Gentiles there, "Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved;"¹ and who had thereby given occasion for the council at Jerusalem, and its apostolic decree against them. But the evil and danger were not so suppressed. "O foolish Galatians," wrote St. Paul, "who hath bewitched you? Ye did run well. Who hath turned you aside from your obedience to the truth?"² It seems that these deceitful teachers, depreciating Paul's apostolic authority, in comparison of Peter and James, and his simple gospel-preaching,³ urged on the Galatians circumcision as necessary to a Christian's full privileges;⁴ and also the observance of sundry other ritualistic observances of the old Jewish law, as a means to righteousness, instead of the righteousness by faith in Christ Jesus. "Ye observe days and months and years," says Paul; i. e. such sacred seasons as the sabbaths and other festival times of the Mosaic law. Hereby they constituted themselves disciples of the old law, and were consequently again in bondage to its requirements.⁵ Was it then so that they had attained to spiritual life? "Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?"⁶ It was like reverting, *in another form*, to the poor childish elements of Gentilism.⁷

¹ Acts xv. i. Compare Gal. ii. 4.

² Gal. iii. 1, v. 7.

³ Compare his strain of argument on the defensive, Gal. i. 11—ii. 14.

⁴ Ib. vi. 12.

⁵ Ib. iv. 10, v. 3.

⁶ iii. 2.

⁷ Gal. iv. 9. In verse 8 preceding, the apostle defines the party he was addressing as previously Gentiles. "When ye knew not God, ye did service to them which by nature are no gods." Yet, with reference to their now *Judaizing*, he speaks of it as a "turning *again* to the weak and beggarly rudiments [of religion], whereunto ye are willing *again* to be in bondage." As if Judaizing by Christians was like

“I marvel,” adds Paul, “that ye are so soon removed from Him that called you into the grace of Christ unto another gospel; which is nothing else but the device of some that trouble you, and would pervert the gospel of Christ. But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached, let him be accursed.”¹

LECT.

I.

In the case of the *Corinthian Church*, though mostly constituted of direct converts from the Gentiles, the same *Judaistic* element of heresy and evil appears from St. Paul's letters to it to have been then already working there, as in Galatia.—In his 1st Epistle, he speaks of a self-styled Petrine party, as opposed to himself. Some said, “I am of Peter;”² which could scarce be but by holding up with peculiar respect that Judaizing doctrine which Peter was alleged to favor more than Paul. And so too in the 2nd Epistle, written soon after the 1st, St. Paul speaks of certain teachers come to Corinth, with letters commendatory from members of the Church in Judæa,³ who, boasting of their pure Abrahamic blood, and of apostolic authority too, sought as in Galatia to depreciate Paul's teaching; and themselves so taught as to bring the reverting to Gentilism! A remarkable statement. Says Mr. Scott on the passage:—“The ceremonies of the Mosaic law were mere rudiments of religious knowledge, suited to the childhood of the Church: they were in themselves weak and inefficacious, low and poor. And, after Christ's coming, having lost all their use and obligation, they became as worthless even as the superstitions of Paganism.” He adds a notice of the parallelism with all this of the superstitious observances and festivals of the Church of Rome.

¹ Ib. i. 6—8. In verse 7, *ὁ ἐκ εἰς ἄλλο εἰ μὴ τινες εἰσὶν ταρᾶσσοντες ὑμᾶς*, I adopt Mr. Conybeare's version. ² I Cor. i. 12. ³ 2 Cor. iii. 1.

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Corinthians that listened to them into *legal* bondage :¹ though in this case not probably to the same extent, as where the necessity of circumcision was inculcated. "Such were false apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into apostles of Christ : and no marvel ; for Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light."² "I am jealous over you," added the apostle : "lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ."³—Besides which, in that Greek city *human philosophy* had begun also to put forth its pretensions, and exert its powers of corruption. This was to be expected ; "for the Greeks sought after wisdom : " though surely what had past for so many centuries before might well have impressed on the Corinthian minds its weakness for good ; seeing that "the world by *wisdom* knew not God."⁴ Such was the first form of the opposition of human knowledge, falsely so called, (that *γνῶσις* of which we read so much afterwards,) ⁵ to the divine knowledge taught through Christ Jesus. For it should be observed that such philosophy, vainly boasting of its own superior wisdom, and initiation in the mysteries of knowledge,⁶ struck at the root of the distinctive authority of the gospel as a divine revelation : at the same time that it was ready, as profest by some, openly to explain

¹ 2 Cor. xi. 20—22.

² Ib. 13, 14.

³ Ib. 3.

⁴ 1 Cor. i. 21. See my 1st Lecture generally ; and particularly its conclusion, p. 25—28 *suprà*.

⁵ 1 Tim. vi. 20.

⁶ 1 Cor. ii. 5, 6, 7 ; "We speak wisdom among them that are initiated (*τελειοι*) ; yet not the wisdom of this world : but," &c.

away certain vital gospel doctrines, such as of the resurrection ; ¹ perhaps even to cavil at the doctrine of Christ crucified ; ² and, as profest by others, to excuse, if not to admit of, impurity of life. ³ LECT.
I.

In his Epistle to the *Colossians*, written by St. Paul some few years later, during his first imprisonment at Rome, we see sketched to us the working of similar heretical and false teaching within the Colossean Church ; but with certain new features of error. "Beware," says he, ⁴ "lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, ⁵ and rudiments (or childish doctrines) of the world, not after Christ :"—which "rudiments of the world" ⁶ he presently after identifies with "a subjection to ordinances, Touch not, taste not, handle not," such as might in a measure suit alike the Gentile Pythagorean and Jewish Pharisaic or Essene system : ⁷ and which, though they might "have a show of wisdom, in a self-chosen worship, and humiliation, and chastening

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 12.

² 1 Cor. i. 23.

³ 1 Cor. v. 1, 2, 6. In vi. 12, there seems hinted a justification of such practices by the antinomian teachers, on the ground that the existence of the bodily appetite proved the lawfulness of its gratification. So Mr. Conybeare ii. 36.

⁴ Col. ii. 8.

⁵ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων the same phrase that our Lord applies to the religion of the Jewish Rabbis, Mark vii. 8.—"The word *Cabbala* means *tradition* : and Dr. Burton says, that the *Cabbala* had certainly grown into a system at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem ; and indeed that it had been received by the Jewish Doctors long before." Conybeare i. 484.

⁶ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου. Compare Gal. iv. 3 ; "Even so, when we were children, we were in bondage under the *elements of the world* : " where the Greek phrase is the same. Also iv. 9. See p. 116, Note ⁷ *supra*.

⁷ See Whitby's learned comment on the clause.

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of the body," were yet worthless for good. Again ; " Let no man judge you in respect of meat or drink,¹ or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbaths :² which are the shadow of things to come ; but the body (or substance) is of Christ. Let no man beguile you of your reward through a voluntary humility,³ and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind."—Here we see the added elemental errors of *ascetic self-mortification* on the one hand, and *angel-worship* on the other : the rash and heretical teachers in the Colossic Church thus for the first time, so far as we know, making use of spirits of another world, imaged according to their fancies, in the heretical systems that they inculcated.

Passing over Paul's Epistle to the *Hebrews*, in which, though not without solemn warning voice on certain dangerous prevailing temptations and errors,⁴ the apostle's chief force was bent on guarding against all Judaizing misapplication of the Mosaic ritual and law, by showing their typical intent and complete fulfilment in Jesus Christ,—proceed we to his still later Pastoral Epistles ; the 1st to *Timothy*, written

¹ Compare Rom. xiv. 2, 3, 14—23. Also Acts x. 14.

² Compare 1 Chron. xxiii. 31 ; " The Levites' office was to offer burnt sacrifices to the Lord, on the sabbaths, and the new moons, and the set feasts."

³ ταπεινοφροσυνη. " This word," says Mr. Conybeare, " is joined with αφειδια σωματος in verse 23 : whence it seems to mean an exaggerated self-humiliation, like that which has often been joined with ascetic practices ; and has shown itself by the devotee wearing rags, living by beggary, &c."

⁴ See Heb. v. 12, x. 25, xiii. 9, &c.

by Paul (as seems probable) about A.D. 62 or 63, shortly after his first imprisonment at Rome, and that to *Titus* written just after the former : in each and either of which he speaks again of both Judaizing and pseudo-philosophic teachers in the Church.—To *Titus* he says ; “ There are many unruly and vain talkers and deceivers, specially they of the circumcision, whose mouths must be stopped, who subvert whole houses, teaching things they ought not, for filthy lucre’s sake : ” and how he was “ to give no heed to Jewish fables, and genealogies, and commandments of men, that turn from the truth ; ” and was, “ after the first and second admonition, to reject such heretics.”¹ Here the reference is specially to false teachers in *Crete*.—Similarly and with reference specially to the Church in *Ephesus*, St. Paul reminds *Timothy*,² how he had commissioned him to warn certain in the Church “ not to teach other doctrine than Christ’s gospel truth ; and not to give heed to fables and endless genealogies, that ministered matter for disputation, rather than for the fulfilling of the stewardship of God in faith : ”³ (which word, “ genealogies ” is rightly judged, I think, to refer to the older Cabbalistic and later Gnostic theory of multitudinous angelic emanations from God,

¹ Titus i. 10, 11, 14 ; iii. 9, 10, 11.

² 1 Tim. i. 4—9.

³ The word in the Greek manuscripts, as Conybeare observes, is *οικονομιαν*, not, as our translators supposed it, *οικοδομιαν*. Compare 1 Cor. ix. 17 ; *οικονομιαν πεπνευμαι*. Hence, Mr. C. adds, “ it would seem that the false teachers in Ephesus were among the number of the Church-presbyters : which would agree with the anticipation expressed in Acts xx. 30, ‘ Also from out of your own selves shall men arise speaking perverse things ; &c.’ ”

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concerned in the creation and preservation of man, of which more presently :)¹ adding, that, whereas “the end of the commandment and law was love out of a pure heart, and good conscience, and faith unfeigned, some, though professedly teachers of the law, had turned aside unto vain jangling ; not understanding what they said, or what they affirmed.”—The apostle further notes certain who (like others in the Corinthian Church) had spoken of the resurrection as a thing past ;²—past and accomplished on men’s reception of *their* sublimer philosophy ;—against which “knowledge, falsely so called,” Paul most solemnly warns Timothy :³ and certain also who taught antinomian doctrine, and freedom from the obligations of the moral law, as if the liberty of the gospel of Christ : all, it is intimated, with a view to gain, from the popularity of such teaching.⁴—Moreover he thus speaks of a development of heresies to come ; the germ of which, however, what has been

¹ See p. 124.—So Conybeare, i. 482 : “The genealogies were probably those speculations about the emanations of spiritual beings found in the Cabbala. At least such is Dr. Burton’s opinion. And the angel-worship at Colossæ belonged to the same class of superstitions. Dr. B. has shown that the later Gnostic theories of æons and emanations were derived in some measure from Jewish sources.” And p. 484 ; “According to the Cabbala there were ten Sephiroth, or emanations proceeding from God ; which appear to have suggested the Gnostic æons.”

² Viz. Hymenæus and Alexander, 1 Tim. i. 20. Compare 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18 ; “Hymenæus and Philetus ; who concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection is past already.” Compare too 1 Cor. xv. 12.

³ “O Timothy, avoid profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science (or knowledge) falsely so called (γνῶσεως ψευδωνυμῆς), which some professing have erred concerning the faith.” 1 Tim. vi. 20, 21.

⁴ 1 Tim. vi. 3—6, 9, 10.

already stated will show to have existed already in the Christian professing Church, and been so recognized by Paul himself. "The Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter days some shall apostatize from the faith ; giving heed to seducing spirits and teachings of dæmons, speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared as with a hot iron ; forbidding to marry, and enjoining abstinence from meat which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving."¹—In his last written Epistle, the *2nd to Timothy*, St. Paul gave as it were his dying warning against such heretical teachers, whether already come, or coming ; "men having the form of godliness, but denying its power."² For "evil men and seducers," says he, "shall wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived."³ And then, as if with reference, not to the minority of profest Christians, as heretofore, but to the so-called Christian body generally he says ; "For the time shall come when they will not endure sound doctrine ; but, after their own lusts, shall heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears ; and they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and be turned unto fables."⁴

So as regards *St. Paul's* own testimony. It needs but short notice of the testimonies of *St. Peter* and *St. Jude* on the same subject.—*St. Peter*, in the future tense, says ; "As there were false prophets among the Jews, so there shall be false teachers among you, who shall privily bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them : and many shall

¹ 1 Tim. iv. 1—4. ² 2 Tim. iii. 5. ³ Ib. iii. 13. ⁴ iv. 3.

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follow their pernicious ways ; by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of." Then, in the present tense, he specifies particularly "those that walk after the lusts of uncleanness, and, like Balaam, "allure through the lusts of the flesh them that were clean escaped from error;" promising their disciples liberty, while themselves the servants of corruption:" so that his reference was chiefly to licentious antinomian teachers.¹—Similarly *St. Jude*, in the present tense, speaks of teachers of just the same character. "There are certain men crept in unawares, ungodly men, turning the grace of our Lord into lasciviousness, denying the only Lord God and our Lord Jesus Christ; and running after the error of Balaam for a reward. These are spots in your feasts of charity."²

Such was the solemn warning-voice of Christ's apostles on the heresies and corruptions then already prevalent, as well as those that threatened, in the Christian Church. And then, all but one, they past from off this earthly scene into rest.—Looking back, and summing up, I have to pray you to remember the prominently twofold character of the early heresies:—the *Judaizing* and *ritualistic* on the one hand, as if the shadowy types of the old law had not already had their fulfilment; and, on the other, the *rationalistic* and *philosophizing*, whether attended with practical inculcation of asceticism, or the avowed admission of licentiousness:—also how, in each and every case, these several forms of error, which like grievous wolves

¹ 2 Pet. ii. 1, &c.

² Jude 4, 11, 12.

threatened the very existence of Christianity, were assaulting it, not from *without* the pale of the professing Church, but from *within* it.¹ Above all, mark the manner in which each and every form of heresy already infused, and working within the professing Church, set *Jesus Christ aside* in his various godlike characters and offices as the Saviour of mankind, and *substituted something earthly in his place*. Alike as the all-satisfying atonement for man's sin to the divine justice, as his one Mediator and Intercessor, as Jehovah his Righteousness, as the one and only authoritative teacher from God, as the imparters of light, life, and holiness by his Spirit,—and not the imparters of life only, but its continual sustainer too through the union and communion of believers with him, even as of members with the head, and branches with the sap-giving vine-stem,—finally in his characters of the resurrection to his people, and their forerunner to the heavenly place, in which characters they looked and longed for his appearing as the epoch of their completed everlasting redemption,—in all these his various saving characters, Jesus Christ was by the heresies specified, whether Judaizing and ritualistic, or philosophizing and rationalistic, practically set aside; and the heretical teacher, (though calling himself Christian,) and his religious system, substituted. For example, just try to realize

¹ Compare Acts xx. 29, 30; "I know that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock: also *from among your own selves* shall men arise speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them." At that time the *Ephesian* Church was only threatened. See Note ³ p. 121 *supra*.

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And, as St. Paul, so afterwards his surviving brother *St. John*. Jerusalem had indeed now suffered the tremendous judgments predicted against it; and therewith a shock been given to all direct *Judaizing* error. So in his Epistles (Epistles written probably some 25 or 30 years later than the latest of those of the other apostles, or somewhere between A. D. 90 and 100,)² we find allusion made once and again to the

¹ 1 Cor. i. 30; Col. ii. 10, 19, iii. 3.

² It is difficult to fix the chronology of St. John's Epistles; and we cannot wonder that very different notions should have been entertained on the point. A late date seems certainly the most probable, and is the generally received date; whether they were written before or after his Gospel.

LECT.

I.

Gentile *Gnostics*; as if now, of all other heretical teachers, the most prominent and pernicious, at least in the Churches of Asia Minor. Carrying out that notion of angelic genealogies which we saw noticed before by St. Paul in his Epistles to Timothy and Titus, they seem to have spoken of Christ as one of the many æons or emanations from the Deity who had held conversancy with man since his creation : and who of late had either in the person of Jesus assumed in phantom what to men seemed a real human body ;¹ or else had united himself and his divine principle temporarily with the man Jesus, on the descent of the Spirit on him at his baptism, and forsaken him before his crucifixion :² —whereby, alike in either case, there was a denial of the real incarnation of the promised divine Messiah in Jesus ; and denial too, by necessary inference, of the whole doctrine connected with his death of atonement. Besides which they profest themselves to be divinely appointed teachers to man of the heavenly *γνωσις*, or knowledge ; and of that rule of life, and ordinances, whether of an ascetic character, or otherwise, whereby man would attain to a deliverance from the evils of his present nature. Thus they *substituted themselves in Jesus Christ's place*, both as the divinely commissioned Teacher and divinely commissioned Saviour of mankind. And this, as the most observable characteristic of those heresies, St. John was directed to seize on, and hold up to the reprobation of the faithful, by affixing to them the appellative, the

¹ So Simon Magus and the Docetæ.² So Cerinthus.

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new and memorable appellative of *antichrists*:¹—at the same time that he intimated respecting *the great Antichrist*, or great predicted usurper of Jesus Christ's place in the professing Church, St. Paul's *Man of Sin*, that *he* was still to come;² and indeed in his final Apocalyptic book was instructed to expand into much more of particularity both Paul's and Daniel's prophetic sketches respecting him, as we shall see hereafter.—Thus, as there had been previously *Antigods* set up for worship, in place of GOD the CREATOR and PRESERVER, so now it was marked by St. John as a sign of the times, that there were set up even *Antichrists*, in place of the REDEEMER GOD, CHRIST JESUS.

Such was the character of the first seeds and principles of antichristian apostacy, already in apostolic times sown in the Church by the great and far-sighted Tempter. Already had the *ζιζανια* become intermixt everywhere among the wheat; and with no other prospect for the future but that of their continuous proportional increase in number and in strength.

And hence perhaps the thought may arise in the minds of one and of another, Where then was the truth of Christ's promise, "On this rock (viz. that true confession of faith made by Peter as the mouth of the apostolic body, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God*,)³ upon this rock I will build my

¹ On this appellative more in my next Lecture.

² 1 John ii. 18.

³ So the clause is explained by most of the early fathers. I shall have to speak more on the passage, in my 6th Lecture.

Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it?" My brethren, St. Paul himself answers that question:—"Nevertheless *the foundation of the Lord* standeth sure: having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his; and, Let him that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity." Let me beg you never to forget the distinction which is so prominently set forth in Holy Scripture, between the *Church visible and professing*, on the one hand, and the *true Church of Christ*, strictly speaking, on the other: i. e. the Church made up of the faithful in heart only; those who really hold, and are united to, Christ Jesus the head; those who thus live in and by him; and, being known to him as such, constitute together in fact that Church which he will present at length to the Father as his bride, pure and spotless, the Church of the redeemed "whose names are written in heaven." There is indeed a further distinction also, and this of no little importance, between a *false visible Church*, and a *true visible Church*: the latter being that wherein, according to our scriptural Article, the pure word of God is preached, and the two sacraments ordained by Christ rightly administered. And in a subsequent Lecture, and with reference to a later æra of the Apostacy, I shall have to call your particular attention to it, as itself a matter of scriptural prediction and historical fulfilment.¹ With regard however to the primitive æra which we have been

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¹ "For lack of diligent observing the difference, first, between the Church of God *mystical* and *visible*, then between the *visible sound*

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hitherto considering, in which (however much the corruption infused into and at work in it) the Church visible did yet as a body profess the true Christian faith, and unite in a true Christian worship, the distinction that we most need to make in our retrospective view is between those of its members who so profest in *sincerity* of heart, and those who did so in *mere* profession. A distinction this, often undiscernible by man: but not so by God; for to Him all hearts are open.—Would we judge ourselves on this point? Perhaps the illustration may be suggested, (and with this I close the present Lecture) of a layer of steel filings intermixt with sand of some similar colour. The human eye may here often fail to discover the difference. But pass a powerful loadstone over the layer: and by the virtue inherent in it, it will soon distinguish between *that for which it has an attractive influence*, and *that for which it has none*. My Brethren, how can we individually stand this test and touchstone? Can we adopt Peter's appeal to the Lord Jesus; "Thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee?"

and the *visible corrupted*, sometimes more, sometimes less, the oversights are neither few nor light that have been committed." So Hooker, Pol. iii. 1.

There was no point on which the reforming fathers of our Church were more anxious to indoctrinate the people than this. And the importance of right views on the point are as much needed now as even then.

LECTURE II.

THE FIRST PRINCIPLES AND GERMS OF THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY, OR GREAT PREDICTED ANTICHRISTIAN APOSTACY, AS WORKING IN THE APOSTOLIC TIMES.

2 THESS. II. 1—12.

“NOW WE BESEECH YOU, BRETHREN, IN REGARD OF THE COMING OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, AND OF OUR GATHERING TOGETHER UNTO HIM, THAT YE BE NOT SOON SHAKEN IN MIND, OR TROUBLED, NEITHER BY SPIRIT, NOR BY WORD, NOR BY LETTER AS FROM US, AS THAT THE DAY OF CHRIST IS AT HAND. LET NO MAN DECEIVE YOU BY ANY MEANS. FOR THAT DAY SHALL NOT COME, EXCEPT THERE FIRST COME THE APOSTACY; AND THAT MAN OF SIN BE REVEALED, THE SON OF PERDITION, WHO OPPOSETH AND EXALTETH HIMSELF ABOVE ALL THAT IS CALLED GOD, OR THAT IS WORSHIPPED: SO THAT HE [AS GOD] SITTETH IN THE TEMPLE OF GOD, SHOWING HIMSELF THAT HE IS GOD. REMEMBER YE NOT THAT, WHEN I WAS YET WITH YOU, I TOLD YOU THESE THINGS? AND NOW YE KNOW WHAT WITHHOLDETH THAT HE MIGHT BE REVEALED IN HIS TIME. FOR THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY DOTH ALREADY WORK: ONLY HE WHO NOW LETTETH WILL LET UNTIL HE BE TAKEN OUT OF THE WAY. AND THEN SHALL THAT WICKED ONE BE REVEALED, WHOM THE LORD SHALL CONSUME WITH THE SPIRIT OF HIS MOUTH, AND SHALL DESTROY WITH THE BRIGHTNESS OF HIS COMING. EVEN HIM WHOSE COMING IS AFTER THE WORKING OF SATAN, WITH ALL POWER, AND SIGNS, AND LYING WONDERS; AND WITH ALL DECEIVABLENESS OF UNRIGHTEOUSNESS IN THEM THAT PERISH; BECAUSE THEY RECEIVED NOT THE LOVE OF THE TRUTH THAT THEY MIGHT BE SAVED. AND FOR THIS CAUSE GOD SHALL SEND THEM STRONG DELUSION, THAT THEY SHOULD BELIEVE A LIE: THAT THEY ALL MIGHT BE CONDEMNED WHO BELIEVED NOT THE TRUTH, BUT HAD PLEASURE IN UNRIGHTEOUSNESS.”

In tracing the fulfilment of this most remarkable prophecy respecting the future dark phases and fortunes of the Christian professing community, or Church, as

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foreseen and foreshown to St. Paul by the divine Omniscient Spirit, I proceeded in my last Lecture only so far as to show from the Apostolic Epistles themselves how the mystery of iniquity was even then at work : in other words, that there were principles and germs of error even then operating *within* the *professing Church*, and endeavouring to leaven it, some *Judaic* in origin and character, others *Gentile*, —which, were they to succeed in indoctrinating the general body, would necessarily involve it (however still retaining to itself the Christian name) in an apostacy, or departure, from the true faith of Christ. And this I intimated would be an *antichristian* apostacy, in the sense in which St. John may be proved to have used the word *Antichrist* : i. e. as meaning those teachers who, though professedly Christians, usurped to themselves the offices and functions of Jesus Christ ; and by consequence in so far tended effectively to supersede him in man's mind and heart, as its one living head and Saviour. To the errors of Judaizing character the fall of Jerusalem, as it was further observed, might seem to have given an almost fatal blow ; and thus that event, however terrible in itself, to augur favourably so far for the future orthodoxy of the Christian Church. But, on the other hand, there was the loss to it, the mighty loss, of the divinely-inspired apostles, its earthly founders and guides. So long as they lived, however heresies might seek to insinuate themselves within the professing Church, their voice of inspiration was ready to denounce

them : however the ζιζανια sown by the evil one might rise up in semblance like the wheat, their eye prompt to detect and expose the imposture. But already, just before the fall of Jerusalem, all the rest of the apostles but John had past to their rest ; and as the first century closed in, St. John himself : not however without adding confirmation in a fuller and more circumstantial prophecy to what St. Paul had previously foreshown of the impending dark prospects of the Church. How then was it possible for discerning Christians to look forward into the future without a certain awe and fear ? How, as they marked the multiplying errors and heresies that still rose up calling themselves by the Christian name, not to think of coming perilous times, when the bad minority in the Church, including presbyters as well as people,¹ might attain to be the majority ; the ζιζανια to exceed the wheat ; the apostacy to begin ?

I purpose in the present Lecture to carry onward my sketch of the historic fulfilment of St. Paul's prophecy, by showing the gradual development in the Church, though under a more directly Christianized guise, of errors substantially similar to those denounced by St. Paul, whether of Judaizing or Gentilizing character, in the course of the three or four centuries which extended from the death of St. John to the fall first of Paganism, then of imperial sovereignty, at

¹ Compare Acts xx. 30 ; " Also *from out of your own selves* shall men arise speaking perverse things." See my notices of the passage, pp. 121, 125 *suprà*.

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Rome and in its empire: whereby the let that was to hinder Antichrist's own personal manifestation was at length taken away; and his incoming, according to the Pauline prophecy, marked as imminent, to be the head of the now ready apostacy. Before commencing this sketch, however, it may be desirable to clear the way by proving the correctness of the meanings which I have attached to certain most important terms in the prophecy, viz. *the apostacy*, *the man of sin*, and *temple of God*, in which the man of sin was to sit; also that which I have attached to St. John's memorable appellative *Antichrist*, in his correspondent prophetic notice.—In the general view propounded by me on these several points I have but followed the opinions exprest in the Homilies, and by the fathers of our English Church.¹ But it has been of late strongly opposed and controverted by sundry writers of our Church,² with arguments the same mainly as those urged by Roman Catholic controversialists; and with the similar object of diverting from the Papal religion and Popes all application of St. Paul's prophecy. They contend that the word *apostacy* used in it must needs mean an avowed public renunciation of the Christian faith and profession;—that the *man of sin* must signify some single individual, and not any series and succession of men, such as the Roman Popes;—that the *temple of God*, spoken of

¹ See my *Horæ Apoc.* Vol. iii. App. No. 4.

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as the scene of the man of sin's enthronement, cannot be meant of the Church visible, but must mean God's temple at Jerusalem, whether the one standing there in St. Paul's time, or one to be erected on the same site at some subsequent epoch still future ;—finally, that the *Antichrist* told of in St. John's correspondent prophecy must be intended to signify some individual avowed enemy of Christianity, openly and professedly denying both the Father and the Son. I proceed to show the fallacy of each and every one of these several objections.

1. As to the word *apostacy*, when used as here with reference to a *religious* contradistinctively to a *political* defection,¹ the examples following will show that it does not necessarily imply any *avowed public renunciation of that religion*. In Acts xxi. 21 the Jews are reported to have reprobated St. Paul's Christian teaching as an *apostacy* (αποστασία) from

¹ In the *political* sense we find it used by Plutarch and other classic authors :—απο Νηρωνος αποστασία απο 'Ρωμαίων αποστασία, &c. So too αποστηναι in sundry passages of the Septuagint : e. g. Gen. xiv. 4, 2 Chron. xiii. 6, Ezek. xvii. 15 ; where it refers to the revolts of the king of Sodom from Cherdolaomer, of Jeroboam from Rehoboam, and of Zedekiah from the king of Babylon.

And Tertullian and Jerom were inclined to explain the *apostacy* in this prophecy by St. Paul of *political defection* also ; viz. the defection of the ten kings that the ten horns of Daniel's 4th wild beast symbolized from the Roman empire. But this was evidently a view forced and unnatural : as it was not a defection of ten kings from the Roman empire that was prefigured by Daniel, but a disruption of the Roman empire into ten kingdoms. There can be no reasonable doubt, I conceive, that Irenæus, Cyril, Ambrose, Augustine, &c., were correct in explaining the apostacy here meant by St. Paul as a *religious* apostacy.

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Moses; though St. Paul and his brother apostles strongly protested that it was no such apostacy, and that he taught "none other things than those which Moses, and the prophets did say should come."¹—In Eusebius, H. E. vii. 24, the bishop Dionysius is cited declaring that "schisms and *apostacies* of whole churches" in Egypt had arisen early in the 3rd century out of Nepos' millenarian teaching; from which schisms and apostacies they were recovered by Dionysius' anti-millenarian arguments. And I need hardly say that those millenarian Christians did not publicly profess their millenarianism to be a renunciation of Christianity and of Christ.²—In his 1st Oration against the Arians, Athanasius speaks of Arius and the Arians as "apostatizing from the truth;" and indeed as fulfilling St. Paul's prophecy, 1 Tim. iv. 1, "In the last days some shall *apostatize* from the faith:" although in the same Oration he not

¹ Acts xxvi. 22.

² Mr. Govett, referring to this example, as given by me in the *Horæ Apoc.*, says, that if I can prove my view of the *apostasias* in it to be correct, then "he will be beaten." And, in opposition to it, he contends that the meaning of Dionysius was this; that "on disputes arising," such as those on the subject of Millenarianism, "the churches, consisting as they did, of merely nominal Christians," were so loosely constituted as "*to relapse in a body into heathenism.*" Now the narrative proceeds to mention the reconciliation of the apostatizers on Dionysius' preaching his anti-millenarianism. So that, according to Mr. Govett, the result of such anti-millenarian teaching was to bring back the lapsed from out of heathenism!! This refutes itself.

But Mr. G. will see by the other examples here given (and which were indeed previously given in my *Horæ*, vol. iv. p. 614) that my argument does not rest on this solitary example from Eusebius, but on sundry others, plain and irrefragable.

only notices, but again and again dwells on these Arians' pretensions to Christian piety.¹—Similar to which, and yet more strikingly to our point, is Cyril's reference to the same Arian heresy and the less palpable error of Sabellianism, each and either professing to be Christian truth, as the very apostacy foretold by St. Paul in our text;—"Now is *the apostacy*; and the enemy (i. e. *the man of sin*) must be looked for as near at hand."²—To the same effect is Epiphanius' application of the prophecy before us to the Collyridian Christians of his time; sectaries whose peculiarity consisted in their worshipping the Virgin Mary, and deeming it right to propitiate her by oblations of cakes (collyridæ), and other such like offerings.³—Once more in Chrysostom, or some other writer confounded with him, and nearly contemporary, the following remarkable opinion is exprest as to the

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¹ So e. g. in the passage following; εαν δε τα Αρειου γραψωσιν . . . ουδεν εστι λοιπον η πολλη παρρησια χρησησθαι, μνημονευοντας των αποστολικων προρησεων, ως δια τας τοιαυτας αρεσεις προμηνυων εγραψε, Εν εσχατοις καιροις αποστησονται τινες της υγιους πιστεως. And again; 'Ημεις δε, ως προς αποστατας, και θελοντας μανιαν εν οικη Κυριου καταπηξαι, . . . αντικαταστωμεν. *Contrà Arianos*, Orat. i. T. i. pp. 303, 305. Athanas. Op. Ed. Colon. 1686.

² Νυνι δε εστιν η αποστασια· απεστησαν γαρ οι ανθρωποι της ορθης πιστεως. Και οι μεν υιοπατοριαν καταγγελλουσιν· οι δε τον Χριστον εξουκοντων εις το ειναι παρενεχθεντα λεγειν τολμωσι. Και προτερον μεν ησαν φανοροι οι αιρετικοι· νυνι δε πεπληρωται η εκκλησια κεκρυμμενων αιρετικων. Αδτη τοιουν εστιν η αποστασια, και μελλει προσδοκασθαι ο εχθρος. Catech. xv. 9.

³ The *heresy* Epiphanius describes thus;—αντι θεου ταυτην παρεισαγειν σπουδαζοντες, . . . ως εις ονομα της αι παρθενου κολλυριδα τινα επιτελειν, και συναγεσθαι επι το αυτο, και εις ονομα αυτης ιερουργειν δια γυναικων. And his view of it as an *apostacy* is thus exprest;—Πληρουνται επι τουτοις το, Αποστησονται τινες της υγιους διδασκαλιας, προσεχοντες μυθοις και διδασκαλιαις δαιμονιων· εσονται γαρ, φησι, νεκροις λατρευοντες.

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nature of *the apostacy* predicted by St. Paul;—
“When thou seest the Holy Scriptures abominated by men pretending to be Christians, and those that speak God’s word hated, . . . specially if they who profess to be Christian pastors do this,—then remember the saying, ‘In the last days men shall *apostatize* from the faith.’”¹—It would be needless further to multiply examples on this point. What have been adduced will abundantly show that it is quite preposterous to affirm that St. Paul’s word *apostacy* must needs be confined to cases of *open avowed renunciation of the Christian faith*.² And indeed the expressions *mystery of iniquity*, and *deceivableness of unrighteousness*, applied by Paul to the apostacy predicted, and

¹ ὅταν ἴδῃς τὴν ἁγίαν γραφὴν βδελυχθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν εἶναι δοκούντων Χριστιανῶν, καὶ τοὺς λαλοῦντας τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ μισηθέντας, . . . καὶ ἐκ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι ποιμένων ἐὰν ἴδῃς ταῦτα πράσσοντας, μὴ ἀπογνώσῃς· ἀλλὰ δακρύσας ὑπομνησθῇτι τοῦ ἀποστόλου λεγόντος, Ἐν ὅσταις ἡμέραις ἀποστήσονται τινες τῆς πίστεως. Homily Περὶ ψευδοπροφητῶν. —The Tract, as we have it, speaks of Nestorius, who lived above a century after Chrysostom. But the original seems to have had additions afterwards made to it.

² They will also make us marvel that writers of any pretension to learning and candour should have been so rash as to ascribe to the fathers of the early Church this limitation of the meaning of the word *apostacy*, and of the prophecy respecting it. “The early Church conceived of *the apostacy* as an actual departure, not merely from the purity of the Christian faith by profest Christians, but *from Christianity itself*:—a falling away from all profession of Christianity into open blasphemous and persecuting infidelity.” So *Dr. Sam. Maitland*, Librarian of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, On Antichrist, p. 2; after observing, p. 1, that “the opinions he here attributes to the early Church were held, he believes, by all Christian writers until the 13th century”!! So too the Oxford Tractarian on Antichrist, p. 16: also Dr. Todd of Dublin, Mr. Burgh, Mr. Charles Maitland, &c.

him that was to head it, seem to me all but necessarily to imply that the *apostacy* meant would be one LECT.
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2ndly, as to the *man of sin*, and *son of perdition*, that these expressions need not necessarily be restricted to mean simply and alone some one particular individual, but may also (if otherwise consistent with the context) be explained of *a body* or *succession of persons* answering to the character of the appellative, will appear from the frequent similar use of similar forms of expression. Take the examples following. In Psalm lxxxix. 22, we read, “The *son of wickedness* shall not afflict him :” there being meant by the phrase not one particular wicked man alone, but each and every son of wickedness who might come in conflict with him to whom the promise appertained : so that in the next verse of the Psalm the singular here used is expanded into the plural.¹ In 2 Tim. iii. 17, St. Paul tells how “*the man of God* was to be perfect, “thoroughly furnished unto all good works ;” including in that designation each and every one specially dedicated as a Christian minister to God’s service. It is thus the designative of an *official* class and order of men : just as also in Levit. xxi. 10, where we read, “*The high priest* shall not rend his clothes ;” a charge applicable to each and every one that might fill the office of high priest, so long as the Mosaic dis-

¹ “*The enemy* shall not exact upon him, nor *the son of wickedness* (*vios avomias* Sept.) afflict him. I will beat down *his foes* before his face, and plague *them that hate him*.” Psalm lxxxix. 22, 23.

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compensation continued. And so again in Deut. xvii. 18, where “*the king* sitting on the throne of his kingdom” in Israel, is enjoined to write himself out a copy of the law. Indeed in the long prophecy of Dan. xi. those phrases in the singular *the king of the north* and *king of the south* are markedly used as the designatives, the one of a long series and succession of Syro-Macedonian kings, the other of a similarly long series and succession of Ægypto-Macedonian kings.—Nor is this mode of speaking confined to the books of Holy Scripture, but common in the current language of the world. When in our English constitutional law it is said, “*The king* can do no wrong,”—when *the French king* is spoken of as *the eldest son of the Church* (i. e. the Romish Church),—or again when the Papal dignity is thus proclaimed in the Decretal, “*The Roman Pontiff* holds the vicarial office of God on earth,”—who knows not that the sayings are meant, not simply of one particular individual king or pope, but of each holder of the offices of English king, French king, and Roman bishop or pope, for the time being?—Above all, our text itself supplies an example in point. With reference to the mysteriously hinted *hindrance* to the development of the man of sin then existing, we find St. Paul at one time using the masculine singular ὁ κατεχων, “*he that hindereth*, as of an *individual*, at another το κατεχων, “*that which hindereth*,” as of a *power*, including of course them that might be called to wield that power. What and who were meant by this restraining power

had been told, we read, by St. Paul to the Thessalonian Christians : nor can we suppose that information on a matter of such exceeding interest, and which the apostle had not only in the first instance communicated by word of mouth to them, but now in a written epistle solemnly reminded them of, could be afterwards forgotten in the Christian Church. And from the distinct and early testimony of Tertullian on the subject, followed by Lactantius, Jerom, Chrysostom, and others, we can I think have no reasonable doubt as to what St. Paul's explanation was of the hindering power : viz. that it was, as these early fathers report to us, the *Roman imperial power*, wielded by successive emperors, on Rome's seven hills. Now, if the designative phrase *he that hindereth*, thus indicated an *empire*, or *power*, and *succession of persons wielding the power*, surely analogy would lead us to think it probable, rather than improbable, that "*the man of sin*," spoken of in similarly designative phrase in the immediate context, might also be meant of the *power*, and *succession of persons wielding that power*, of some empire peculiarly obnoxious to the charge of sinful.

3. Next as to *the temple of God* in which, according to St. Paul, this man of sin was to sit from after the time of his manifestation, and there to exhibit himself as God. Now that the phrase *may* be meant figuratively to signify *the visible professing Christian Church* appears from its use in that sense by St. Paul elsewhere; and his similar use too of its exact synonym and equiva-

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lent "*the house of God*."¹ E.g. to Timothy he writes, "That thou mightest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in *the house of God*, which is *the Church of the living God*:"² to the Corinthian Christians collectively, and in their character as a Christian community, or Church, "Know ye not that ye are *the temple of God*."—And that in the passage before us the phrase not only *may*, but *does* mean this, and not, so as some have supposed, *a literal temple at Jerusalem*, whether that standing in St. Paul's time, or some one of erection yet future, appears from various considerations. The former indeed, from the fact of its having been built by divine command, and been the scene of a worship dictated by him, might still claim to be called God's temple even after Christ's fulfilment of its types, down to the time of its destruction by the Romans;—the predicted sign of its formal and absolute rejection by God. But against the hypothesis of its being here meant by St. Paul, there is this decisive historical objection: that between the time of his writing the Epistle to the Thesalonians and the total destruction of the Jewish

¹ In proof of the equivalency of the terms I may refer to Matt. xxi. 12, 13; "Jesus went into *the temple of God* (το ιερον του Θεου), and cast out them that sold and bought in *the temple*; saying, It is written, *My house* shall be called a house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves." (The same Mark xi. 17, and Luke xix. 46.)—Again in Matt. xxiii. 35 Zacharias is said to have perished between "*the temple* (ναου) and the altar:" in Luke xi. 51 "between the altar and *the house* (του οικου)."

² This must be specially marked, as showing that *the visible Christian Church* answers to the phrase; not, distinctively and alone, the mere true Church of the elect.

temple, A. D. 70, no man ever did sit in the Jewish temple answering to the character of the Man of sin and Antichrist. Again as to the idea of Paul's meaning some temple *yet future* to be erected on the old site, there is this decisive objection, that whether built by unconverted Jews on Jewish religious principles, or by some fancied Antichrist on antichristian principles, its very building would be in direct contradiction to the revealed will of God; and consequently it could no more answer to the designation of *the temple of God* than the mosque of Omar now standing there.—As then there must needs be here meant something which originally and once might properly have been termed *God's temple*, though afterwards corrupted and perverted, and that the sense of any *literal* temple at Jerusalem is excluded, we are forced on the *figurative* sense of *the visible professing Christian Church*, once faithful, but at length corrupted and perverted.—In corroboration of which view of the term, mark what is said of the “*all-deceivableness of unrighteousness*” that would characterize, in the eye of profest Christians of the day, the religious profession of the Man of sin sitting in it. For this can only mean unrighteousness drest up in the garb of righteousness, a false faith under profession of the true.—Such is our conclusion on this point. And we have the satisfaction to know that this meaning of the *visible professing Christian Church* was the sense attached to the phrase by Jerom, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Hilary, Augustine, and other ancient fathers,

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in their comments on this prophecy;¹ as well as by the chief fathers and doctors of our own English Protestant Church, at and after the Reformation.²

4thly, and lastly, as to the term *Antichrist*:—a term this not used by Paul indeed in the prophecy before us; but only in the Epistles of St. John; yet which has in all ages of the Church been so identified with St. Paul's *Man of sin*,³ that it may seem fitly hence to claim our notice. And this the rather because, when rightly understood, it is an appellative so significant, and so important, as to be indispensable in a discussion such as I am carrying on in these Lectures.

¹ See the references in my *Horæ Apoc.* iii. 90. I will here only cite Theodoret; *Ναον δε Θεου τας εκκλησιας εκαλεσεν, εν αις αρπασει την προεδρειαν.* See too the example from Athanasius in my Note p. 137 *suprà*.

² Not only the fathers of the English Reformation in the xvth Century, Hooker inclusive, but some of the most learned of our divines in the two centuries following; e.g. Andrews, Usher, Barrow, Butler. See my *H. A.* iv.

³ Mr. Faber is the earliest expositor with whom I am acquainted who has denied the identity of St. John's *Antichrist* with St. Paul's *man of sin* and the *little horn* of Dan. vii. which latter two, as well as the Apocalyptic Beast, he explains of the Papacy. The novelty of the distinction is fairly and fully admitted by him (*S. C.* vol. i. p. 107). It is on the ground of the Papacy not *explicitly* and *expressly* denying the Father and Son (as in 1 John ii. 22, 23,) that he argues its non-correspondence with the character of Antichrist (p. 109). Yet at p. 112 he admits that the denial of *the Father* may be only *implicit*, not avowed: and, if so, the same surely might be said of the denial of *the Son*. Mr. F. does not enter at all on the important etymological argument; but argues, very incorrectly, as my readers will soon see, that *Antichrist* means simply a *direct enemy to Christ*. He also supposes St. John's *Antichrist* to answer to the *Infidel king* (as he designates him) of Dan. xi.: and that this has been fulfilled in the *infidelity* of the French Revolution. Yet surely the Fathers were not wrong in identifying the *self-deifying king* of Dan. xi. with St. Paul's *man of sin*.

Now, as to the true force and meaning of the term, LECT.
II. there seem to be two chief criteria for the inquirer to judge by:—the one the *etymological* force of the word; the other its known *partial and primary application* by St. John himself, with reference to certain heresies and heretics of his own time.

And, as to the *former* criterion, the word seems limited by it to one of two meanings:—either that of a *Vice-Christ*, whether legitimately constituted, or by usurpation: or else that of an *opposing Christ*; i. e. one professing himself to be the Christ, or Messiah of Old Testament prophecy, in opposition to the claim of *Jesus Christ*. For such is the case, I believe, with all similarly compounded Greek words without exception. Thus *αντιβασιλευς* may be either a *vice-king*, or an *opposing and rival king*: *αντιςρατηγος* either a *vice-general*, or an *opposing general* on the enemy's side: *αντηρετης* either a *vice-rower*, such as we might substitute to row in our stead in a rowing match; or the *antagonist rower* on the other side against us. And so of all other similar Greek compounds. I say of all *similar* compounds; that is, nouns compounded of *αντι* and some simple noun signifying a functionary: for a compound of *αντι* with a verbal participle which has no such sense of a functionary, or agent, attached to it, (such for example as *αντιλαμβανομενος*, *αντιλεγων*, *αντικειμενος*,) are of course words of a different class, and not to be brought into the comparison. And as, referring back to those really parallel compounds before noted, *αντιςρατηγος* cannot mean a mere per-

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sonal hater of the general, *αντηρετης* a mere personal hater or enemy of the ruler, *αντιβασιλευς* a mere personal hater or enemy of the king, so, and in the same way, I am I believe correct in affirming that *αντιχριστος*, from the very etymological force of the word, cannot mean simply a mere avowed hater and enemy of Jesus Christ; such as the avowed atheist, or infidel man, whom certain expositors have of late fancied to themselves as destined to appear in fulfilment of the prophecies about Antichrist. But it must mean either (as before said) an *opposition and rival Christ*, such as Barchochebas and other old Jewish false Messiahs: (who, observe, instead of being profest infidels, did each one, by the very fact of proposing himself as Messiah, professedly recognize the truth of those Old Testament prophecies which foretold a coming Messiah, as also of the Eternal One who had inspired them :) or else a *Vice-Christ*; whether one legitimately appointed to the office, like as the *Viceroy* of Peru was appointed by the Spanish king to his Viceroyalty, in the 16th and 17th centuries; or simply a self-appointed and usurping pretender. Taking which latter sense of the word before us, and supposing some pretender to Christ's office successfully to impose his usurpation of it on professing Christendom, and supposing further that, in virtue of it, he were to arrogate to himself the authority, honor, worship, and other rights and prerogatives of Jesus the true Christ,—then, and in that case, he might justly be regarded as answering to the first as well as the

second meaning of the word *Antichrist*, deduced from its etymology. He would be, to all practical intents and purposes, *an opposition Christ*, as well as a *usurping Vice-Christ*.

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As to the other criterion that I mentioned, that from *St. John's own primary and partial application of the term*, it is soon stated, and seems to me most clear and decisive.—For, besides his main application of it to *the great Antichrist* of previous prophecy, who, said he, “ye know cometh,” (just as St. Paul had told the Thessalonian Christians that when “the let” was removed, the *man of sin* would come,) besides this his chief application of the term, he applies it also primarily and partially to the *doketic Gnostics* of his own time, as exhibiting something of the antichristian spirit and action of him that was to come. And what then was the religious profession of these men; and how did their antichristianism manifest itself? Were they *profest* atheists and rejecters of Christianity; or *profest* deniers of Jesus having been the Christ? By no means. They called themselves Christians; and profest belief in Jesus, as the Christ predicted in Old Testament prophecy. Only they taught that his appearance on earth had been but like the appearances of the Angel of God to the patriarchs, unsubstantial, and not in a real fleshly body. By this they effectively, though not professedly, denied Him: and, setting him aside as the soul's one resting point for salvation, by what he had done and suffered as very man for us, substituted themselves in their doc-

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trinal system *in his stead*. E.g. in his character as *prophet* they superseded him by the asserted superiority of their own *gnosis*, or *wisdom*; in his character of man's *righteousness* by the asserted merits of their ritualistic system; in his character of man's *high-priest* and *mediator* by assuming the mediatorship with God to themselves. So, and in this way, (as already more fully noted in my last Lecture)¹ they were *Antichrists*, by *usurping to themselves the true Christ's prerogatives, functions, and honour*. Just similarly, according to this analogy, it was to be inferred that the great Antichrist to come, would, while professing Jesus Christ, usurp his place and functions. —Is there any thing contradictory to this idea in St. John's saying, "He is the Antichrist that denieth the Father and the Son?"² By no means. What kind of denial of the Father was meant by John, he himself explains in the next verse;—"Whoso denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father." Thus it was by denying *Jesus* that the great Antichrist was to deny the Father. And in what way there was to be a denial of Jesus Christ by him, and yet a following after the example of the *Christ-professing Gnostics*, is explained by those words of the apostle Paul to Titus, (i. 16,) "Who profess to know him, but in works deny him:" and those of St. Jude, which designate certain false teachers, that "had crept in unawares," (sc. into the Christian body),³ as "ungodly men, turning

¹ See p. 127 *suprà*.

² 1 John ii. 22.

³ *παρεισεδυσαν*.

the grace of God into lasciviousness, and *denying the only Lord God and our Lord Jesus Christ.*" "These are spots," he adds, "in your feasts of charity."¹

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Such is my twofold argument from St. John on the sense of the term *Antichrist*. And let me add, that in thus supposing that he would be no profest infidel, but make a Christian profession, I am supported (just as in other previous points of criticism) by the chief of the early fathers.²

So I close my criticisms; regretting much to have been obliged to detain you so long on them: but trusting that we may now proceed with surer and firmer steps on our onward course of historic inquiry into the unfolding of principles of antichristian apostacy within the Christian Church, in the course of the three or four centuries next after St. John, (principles cognate with those which St. Paul had denounced as secretly working there even in his own

¹ i. e. the *agapæ*: so that they were persons in the most intimate union and communion with orthodox Christians. So p. 124 *suprà*.

² Into this subject I have fully entered in the 5th Section of the 2nd Part of my Appendix to the 4th Volume of the *Horæ Apoc.* pp. 615, 616. The fathers expected Antichrist to be either an advocate of Judaism, so recognizing the Old Testament Scriptures; or else a member and corrupter of the Christian professing Church.—Let me cite one passage from Origen on this point very striking, and less known than many from other of the Fathers. 'Ὅτε δὲ τὸν τοῦ Λόγου πολέμον ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν, ὃν πολεμεῖ ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ μὲν πρεσβευὴ περὶ ἀληθείας, ὃ δ' ὑποκρινομένης εἶναι Λόγος, οὐ Λόγος ὢν, καὶ ἡ ἑαυτὴν ἀναγορεύουσα τὴν Ἀληθειαν, οὐκ ἀληθεῖα τυγχάνουσα, ἀλλὰ ψεύδους, φασκὴ εἶναι ἑαυτὴν τὴν Ἀληθειαν, τότε καθοπλισάμενος ὁ Λόγος κατὰ τοῦ Ψεύδους ἀναλοῖ αὐτὸ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταργεῖ τὴν ἐπιφανείαν τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ. On John; vol. ii. p. 53. Ed. Huet.

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time,) until it became ripe for the supremacy over it
of the great predicted Antichrist.

The period under review is divided into two markedly distinct parts by the great Constantinian politico-religious revolution of the 4th century. The *former* half embraces the two centuries from St. John to Constantine, during which the Roman ruling imperial power continued to be *heathen*:—a term subdivided into one century nearly of extraordinary national prosperity and triumph, and one almost as remarkable for its calamities of war, famine, and pestilence; each with singular distinctness prefigured to St. John, as I hope to show next winter season, when we enter on the subject of the Apocalyptic prophecy. The *latter* half embraces the century and a half, or thereabouts, after the empire had become in profession *Christian*: until the ruling Roman imperial power was itself in the West altogether swept away; and therewith the removal effected of the fated let, or hindrance, told of by St. Paul, to the Man of Sin's development. This twofold division of time I shall of course have to attend to in my sketch of the gradual corruption of the Church during it. In the *former* certain principles of apostacy will be found to have pullulated unsuspectingly within the Church, which expanded rapidly and perniciously in the *latter*.

Preliminarily however to entering on the Church's gradual infection with error, during those two cen-

turies which constitute *the earlier half* of the period in question, it may be well to note the more seemly garb which *Roman Heathenism*, now everywhere more and more encroached on by Christianity, began partially, as if in self-defence, to put on; since hence arose a new source of danger and corruption to the Church, in addition to all that had been operating before.

For, while among the uninstructed multitude the worship of the gods of the old mythology was still blindly continued, mixt often with darker superstitions, and magic rites and mysteries, whereby the better to soothe the uneasy conscience, and to propitiate (especially on occasions of local or national calamity) the offended gods,¹ the more thoughtful and philosophic of the heathen Romans fell back, as more defensible ground,² on the *Stoic* scheme, or the *Platonic*, each improved and amended on various points by borrowed light from Christianity.³—The

¹ Plutarch, in his Tract on Superstitions and Atheism, thus writes. "The ancient religion of Rome had lost its power over the mind; and they were inclined therefore to seek a prop for their religious faith in foreign modes of worship. Ceremonies that wore an air of enigma and mystery, strange sounding magical formulas in some barbarous tongue, found readiest admittance." And then he paints in striking colours the superstitions of the superstitious people of his time. See Neander's Church History, Vol. i. pp. 17—20. (Clarke's Ed.)—"Artificial faith in an old religion, that has outlived itself, must on this very account," says Neander, "become fanatical."

² It was in the 2nd century that *Lucian*, in his Dialogues of the Dead, exposed with pungent satire the folly of the old mythology; therein concurring with, and aiding, the satire and argument of the Christian apologists. And so other heathen writers also. Whence the greater need of heathenism taking up more defensible ground.

³ See Neander, p. 21; whose whole Chapter on this subject is most valuable and instructive.

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former, resting much more now on its morals than its cosmogonic speculations, instead of the repulsive pride and sternness of its older morality, inculcated and practically exhibited in Stoics like Epictetus and M. Aurelius a spirit of mildness and benevolence:¹ while *Providence* was the more seemly term now adopted in its dogmatic teaching instead of *fate*, to signify the necessary course of things; and “bearing and forbearing,” contentment and fortitude, inculcated as primary virtues, because of being in accordance with the course of nature, in other words, with the appointments of divine Providence.²—The *latter*, which was rather an *Eclectic* scheme, than a *Platonic*, amalgamating as did its chief teachers Potamo, Ammonius Saccas, Plotinus, Porphyry, whatever they might deem good in any other philosophic system,³ continued to set forth Plato’s view of the one supreme

¹ So Enfield, iii. 2. 7, after speaking of the extensive adoption of its *moral* system in the two first centuries:—“The prevalence of the Christian doctrine at this period seems to have contributed in no small degree to the success of Stoicism; by leading its followers, to whom the language and tenets of Christianity could not be unknown, to soften the extravagancies of their own system.” p. 357, Ed. 1837.

² See Enfield, *ibid.* *Αρεῖς καὶ ἀρεῖς* was the sum of *Epictetus’* moral code. He flourished at the beginning of the 2nd century, under Domitian, and to the end of Hadrian’s reign. On *M. Aurelius’* philosophy, half a century later, consult his *ἵππος ἑαυτοῦ*, or *Meditations* for his own private use. Ib. 366—368. See also Neander’s notice of M. Aurelius; and Niebuhr’s Lecture 70 on Roman History.

³ See Enfield iii. 2. 4. p. 344. *Potamo* is supposed to have flourished at Alexandria about the end of the 2nd century.

Ammonius Saccas flourished at the beginning of the 3rd century. He is said to have been born of Christian parents, and to have attended in youth at the Christian catechetical schools at Alexandria: then to have apostatized to Heathenism; but as a Platonic or

Deity in its best form, as a Being self-existent, eternal, all-wise, benevolent; and spoke more distinctly than did Plato of the vision of God, and reunion with him, in a spiritual and higher state of existence, and with the continuance of individual personal entity and consciousness, as the great object of hope after death to the wise and good.¹ Again, as to *matter*, they did not, like Plato, make it a second *independent* eternal principle; but only an eternal animated *emanation from the Deity*; ² and that from it our visible *material* world had been formed, not by direct act of the Supreme One, but through the agency

Eclectic philosopher. The famous *Longinus* was a pupil of Ammonius.

Plotinus, who was a pupil of Ammonius in Egypt, resided for 26 years afterwards at Rome, as a teacher of Neo-Platonic or Eclectic philosophy; with high reputation for wisdom and austerity. He died in Campania about the year 270. When he saw that his end was approaching, he is reported to have said to his friend Eustochius; "The divine principle within me is now hastening to unite itself with that Divine Being which animates the universe:" so expressing, says Enfield, "a leading principle of the Neo-Platonic philosophy, that the human soul is an emanation from the Divine nature, and will return to the source whence it proceeded."

Porphry was born at Tyre A.D. 233. He studied first at Cæsarea under the Christian teacher *Origen*; then at Athens under the heathen philosopher *Longinus*; then at Rome under *Plotinus*; to whom and his philosophy he particularly attached himself. He died about A.D. 304, after teaching some years at Rome. He pretended to be not only a philosopher of peculiar wisdom, but one favoured with supernatural communications from heaven. He himself relates that when 68, being in an ecstasy, he saw the Supreme Intelligence, the God superior to all gods, without an image. Enfield, p. 333, &c. and Neander p. 36.

¹ Enfield, p. 347.

² The Neo-Platonists of the 3rd century supposed this material emanation from the Deity to have existed eternally in *form*, and with an *animating soul*; not in a formless chaotic soulless state. Ib. 346, 348.

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of an inferior deity, the Demiurge : whence its imperfection, and the origination of evil, moral as well as physical. And then, that whereas to the intellectual few ascetic discipline and bodily mortification, in addition to the exercises of mental abstraction and religious devotions, might suffice as means of emancipating the intellectual spirit from its present prison-house in the gross material body, and bringing them to the direct present vision of, and ultimate union with, God,—for the uninstructed multitude this was impracticable, except through the medium of inferior deities, or dæmons, themselves emanations from the supreme Deity, and entrusted with the charge of this lower world : (whence the propriety even of the established polytheistic system of religious worship :)¹ besides that after death purgatorial discipline awaited such grosser souls, ere they might see God.² Once more, as regarded Christianity, (a religion now too widely extended in the world to be ignored by them,) they denied not that its founder Jesus was eminent both as a philosopher and a theurgist, or worker of miracles : only however as they themselves were.² His proper divinity moreover they altogether denied ; as also the whole doctrine of his atonement, unfolded in the books of the New Testament ; which books they declared to have been adulterated and falsified by the Christians.³

The essential contrast of all this to the religion of Christ's gospel must be very evident. For there

¹ Enfield, p. 344.

² Ibid.

was here no setting forth of God in his highest and inseparably united attributes of *infinite holiness* and *infinite love*, on the glorious gospel view of which we dwelt last spring ;¹ none of sin as seated in the apostatized and corrupt heart of fallen man ; none of its remedy in Christ, the God-Man's atoning and mediatorial work, and heart-renewing life-giving influences through the Spirit. Nor was there in it, at all more than in the old philosophy, any pretence of a revelation from heaven, authenticated by evidence such as might answer to the deep-seated wants and cravings of the mind of man. Still it might approve itself to the speculatist as a seemly kind of Deism ; a *rationalistic* system of heathenism.² And while flattering to the intellectual man by representing the *κοσμος νοητος*, or intellectual world, visible and invisible, as directly created by, and nearest among created essences to, the Supreme Deity, and also by its bold speculations on things invisible, as if all

¹ See p. 86 *suprà*.

² The position assumed by the intelligent heathen natives who have been educated in European schools in *India*, offers an interesting object of comparison with the educated Greeks and Romans of the 3rd century. "In large numbers they find a resting place in *Vedantism* ; which in some respects approximates to *Deism*, and in others appears to resemble *Pantheism* A number of young Brahmins, who spoke English perfectly, described to me their views as being those of *Unitarians* ; and that the atonement of Jesus Christ was the only doctrine which prevented their becoming Christians. Many of their statements, however, respecting the all-diffusiveness of the Deity partake of the features of Pantheism, and negative these assumptions of being a religion of pure Deism." So Bishop Smith's Letter, in the Church Missionary Intelligencer of January, 1854, p. 23.

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within compass of the human intellect, it might seem too, by its admission of the mass of the heathen multitude, present and past, among the Deity's acceptable worshippers, to exhibit a more liberal comprehensiveness of spirit than the Christian's exclusive doctrine of salvation.—Are there not some, even in our own Christian country, to whom views like these might still seem to be not uncongenial?

Let me further premise that on sundry points there was a marked affinity in the dogmas of this Neo-Platonism of the Roman heathen with those of certain heretics (the Gnostics of the 2nd and Manichæans of the 3rd century) *who yet called themselves Christians*:¹—an affinity alike in what was admitted, and what was rejected, about Jesus of Nazareth; in the doctrine about æons, or dæmons, as emanations from the deity; and also that about matter as the source of evil, and consequent need of ascetic discipline for the emancipation of the soul from its prison-house of the gross material body.² Hence the greater danger of the infection to orthodox Christians.—What increased need then was there of remembering St. Paul's solemn charge to the Colossians, to “beware lest any should corrupt them through philosophy and vain conceit, after the traditions of men,

¹ See this illustrated by the lately-discovered Treatise of Hippolytus; the main object of which is to show that the heresies in the Christian Church had their origin in the Heathen philosophy.

² The Manichees differed from the Gnostics in setting forth the two antagonistic principles of good and evil under the elements of *light and darkness*, not *mind and matter*.

and not after Christ : ” to beware specially of “ wor-
 shipping of angels, intruding into those things which LECT.
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 they had not seen ; ” and also of each ascetic system of
 “ not touching, tasting, handling ! ” What need more-
 over of ever resting simply on God’s holy Scripture, as
 the only standard of divine truth ; and of rightly dis-
 tinguishing between the respective provinces of reason
 and faith ! Though the heretics spoken of were thus
 far looked on as *ζιζανια* in the gospel field, themselves
 excluded from the Church rolls, and their errors, as
 well as those of heathenism, earnestly repudiated by
 one and another Christian writer,¹ yet might not the
 infection be expected to corrupt the general Christian
 body, if the habit were lost of deferring simply and
 reverentially to the inspired books of Holy Scripture ?
 —The investigator of Church history will soon find
 evidence of this ; alike in regard of this class of
 errors, and of the old Judaic leaven denounced by
 St. Paul.

Turn we now to the Christian Church Catholic.
 And let us mark, as proposed, how certain germs of
 error, that might afterwards well ripen into antichristian
 apostacy, did in fact find a nidus within it, even while
 heathenism was still dominant in the empire ; i e.
 during the period first to be considered by us, of the
 2nd and 3rd centuries.

I. 1st then, though through most of the 2nd century
 the worship and doctrine of the Christian Church

¹ Especially by Irenæus, in his great work against Heresies, written
 about A. D. 170.

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remained for the most part simple and pure,¹ yet ere its conclusion a tendency was evident to fancy an *analogy between the old Jewish and the Christian ecclesiastical system*, (all counter to the apostolic teaching, especially in the Epistle to the Hebrews,) as if in fact the latter were in its ritualistic forms, and Church government, to be but the counterpart and perpetuation of the former. Thus the appellative of *ιερείς*, or *priests*, came gradually more and more to be distinctively applied to ministering presbyters of the Church, the rest of Christians being simple *laics*:² and so, as the 3rd century advanced, the unscriptural view of a *sacrificial* and *mediatorial* character to be attached to Christian presbyters and bishops, similar to that of the priests under the old Jewish law.³ Hence, whereas it had been before not only the taunt of the heathen, but the boast of Christians, that they had in their temples no visible *altar*, the title of altar began now to be given at times to the

¹ See the account so well known given by Justin Martyr of the Christian worship in his time.

² Somewhat similarly it was to the presbyters and bishops of the Church that the appellative *clergy*, or *the Lord's lot of inheritance* (*κληρος*), came about this time to be very generally distinctively applied; whereas in St. Peter (1 Peter v. 3.) it is applied to the general Christian body.

³ Among the earliest applications I believe, of this word to a Christian minister is that by *Tertullian*, about A.D. 200: "Summus sacerdos, id est episcopus." The example sometimes adduced from *Clement of Rome* is adduced under mistake; his reference being evidently only to the priests of the Jewish temple. See Suicer on *ἱερεὺς*. Tertullian elsewhere protested the right of *all* Christians to the title of God's priesthood, in the sense of offering spiritual sacrifices.

³ See Suicer on *Θυσιαστηριον*.

communion-table; whereby an important step was made (as appeared afterwards) towards representing the commemorative bread and wine of the Lord's supper consecrated on it as a *sacrifice*.³ Also, as in the Jewish ritual certain priestly sprinklings had been efficacious for the cleansing of ceremonial uncleannesses, so it began now to be insinuated that sacramental grace for the soul's cleansing attached ipso facto to the baptismal rite; i. e. when rightly ministered by a presbyter, and by episcopal unction perfected.¹—2. Whether derived from the heathen Neo-Platonic philosophy, (for, instead of the earlier Christians' simple consultation of holy Scripture, philosophy like this had now begun to be referred to even by eminent Christian doctors, witness the names of Clement and Origen of the celebrated Catechetical School of Alexandria,) ² or whether derived from

¹ So Cyprian: "Quomodo tales (i. e. the schismatic ministers) justificare et sanctificare baptizatos possunt, qui hostes sacerdotum aliena, et illicita, et nullo sibi jure concessa, usurpare conantur?" And again; "Oportet sanctificari aquam prius à sacerdote, ut possit baptismo suo peccata hominis qui baptizatur abluere." Ep. lxix.

We may conjoin with this the unscripturally high ideas exprest in the Constit. Apostol. as to the priestly power of binding and loosing. Also Cyprian's statements respecting the *priest* and the *bishop*, as those who are only to be judged by *God*, not by their fellow-men. On which subject see Neander's observation, Vol. i. 265—268. Almy H. A. iv. 258, &c.

² See Enfield, p. 460. "*Clemens Alexandrinus*," he says, "espoused the moral doctrine of the *Stoics*:" speaking "of the Christian doctrine of the government of the passions, as coincident with the Stoic doctrine of apathy; and making the perfect Christian a character exactly similar to the wise man of the *Stoics*." But generally he followed the *Eclectic* philosophy: "While the Pagan philosophers pillaged the Christian stores to enrich their Eclectic system, Clement

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the self-styled Christian Gnostics and Manichees, there came to be infused into the general body of the Christian Church in the 3rd Century an idea of virtue and merit attaching to *asceticism* and *celibacy*.¹ And though there was as yet no thought of any authoritative injunction of the ascetic discipline, and though moreover it did not generally arise, as in the Gnostic and Platonic systems, from any notion of matter being the source of moral evil, but rather from the thought of the merit of self-denial and mortification of the flesh, yet its effect, in proportion as it was received into the mind, was to substitute a fancied righteousness of man's own, in place of that perfect righteousness of Christ Jesus, which is unto all and upon all them that believe.—3. And then too *pur-*

transferred the Platonic, Stoic, and Oriental dogmas to the Christian creed, as relics of ancient tradition, originating in divine revelation. He expressly asserts that philosophy was communicated to the Greeks from heaven, as their proper covenant; and that it was to them what the law of Moses was to the Hebrews.”

So yet more *Origen*. As Philo, and other Alexandrian Jewish philosophers had made use of the allegorical mode of explaining the writings and traditions of the ancients, to reconcile the truths of revelation with his new-modelled Platonism, so Origen hoped by the same method to establish a union between heathen philosophy and Christian doctrine.” Origen affected Neo-Platonic doctrine even about matter. “According to him the Deity is limited in his operations by the imperfect nature of matter; the divine nature being the fountain of matter; and itself, though free from gross corporeality, in some sense material.” “God and angels and the souls of men are,” according to him, “of one and the same substance: and the Son, proceeding from the Father, like a solar ray from the sun, but inferior to him, is the first *emanation* from God, and his minister in the creation.” *Ibid*.

¹ We see this strongly in Tertullian, especially after embracing Montanism.

gatory after death was taught as a Christian dogma;¹ as if the blood of Christ did not cleanse from all sin.—

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4. Another point observable was *an undue and increasing veneration of departed Christian martyrs*. As early as the 2nd century the relics of such martyrs were fondly gathered; and there had begun in the Christian Church solemn consecrations of the anniversaries of their deaths. And what more natural, or innocent, than that their martyrdoms should be thus affectionately commemorated; and this at the martyr's grave? But soon superstition mingled in the act. And danger was apparent lest this honouring of the martyrs' memory, when combined with a recollection of the martyrs' honour and blessedness in the divine presence, might induce thoughts of them as efficacious intercessors with God, (just like the fancied dæmon-mediators of heathenism,)² to the disparagement of the one great Intercessor Christ Jesus? 5. The fact became gradually less prominent in the views of Christians at this time, that it was only the *really spiritual*, and *really faithful*, of the Christian body, who constituted that *true Church* to which appertained the promises. Already in the 3rd century the baptized were all recognized as *πιστοί* and *ἀγίοι*, believers and saints;³ and that distinction was not sufficiently remembered, which even in the purer apostolic times had needed to be enforced, between the true and the

¹ So both Clement and Origen. Gieseler iii. 3. 63; Enfield, p. 463.

² See the example from *Gregory Thaumaturgus* of the 3rd century, in my H. A. i. 312. Also the general observations, *ibid*.

³ See my H. A. i. 264.

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merely seeming believer, the wheat and tares. And hence the *unity of the Church* looked to come to be rather the *ecclesiastical* unity of the visible Christian body, combined under its earthly episcopal heads,¹ than the *spiritual* unity of true Christians, united in Jesus, their heavenly head; (though these are alone to be recognized at his coming as the Church his bride;) and the earth, under this present dispensation, as the scene and time of its intended union, instead of (as the primitive Christians viewed it) the scene and time of its commixture,² trial, pilgrimage.³

Whence too, let me further add, an additional source even now of earthly importance to Church bishops; most of all to the bishops of certain metropolitan sees, such as of Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, Rome, where the Apostles had established central Churches. For not only were these venerated by Christians as the official keepers of the most authentic copies of the Holy Scriptures, and therewith of the written apostolic tradition in respect of doctrine and worship,⁴ but, when ecclesiastical synods began to be held about the close of the 2nd century, it was the

¹ So Cyprian in his celebrated Treatise *De Unitate Ecclesie*, written on occasion of the Novatian schism. Gieseler has noticed the point I refer to, Per. i. § 67; also Waddington.

² "Let both grow together till the harvest." Matt. xiii. 30.

³ So Hebr. xiii. 14, "Here we have no continuing city." Clement of Rome's address to the Corinthian Church is thus headed;—"The Church of God which *sojourneth* at Rome to the Church of God which *sojourneth* at Corinth; elect, sanctified, by the will of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord." So, similarly, that of Polycarp to the Philadelphian Christians. The point is one of importance.

⁴ So Tertullian *De Præscript.* c. 36.

bishops of these metropolitan sees that naturally presided, and were the centres of the ecclesiastic unity.¹ All this, so far, might be immaterial and innocent. But the temptation hence arising to worldliness, pride, and a spirit of imperiousness, above all in the bishop of Rome itself, the chiefest of metropolitan sees, (whosoever the sword of persecution might not be raised against the Church,) was a thing not to be forgotten : considering specially how God's predictions respecting the head of the great coming apostacy, the Man of Sin, or Antichrist, pointed to Rome as his seat ;² and that already notable examples of pride and imperiousness in Roman bishops were not wanting.³—However, from time to time, during the 2nd and 3rd centuries, fierce persecutions arose, which operated with salutary effect to repress such priestly pride and self-exaltation, and to purify the general Christian body ; especially the later persecutions under Decius, Valerian, and Diocletian. There was a check to all the rising evil from the strong *letting* power of the Imperial dominant heathen authority, seated and acting at Rome.

II. Such were the germinant evils in the Christian Church, when that extraordinary revolution took place through which Christianity, after having been apparently crushed to death (as ancient imperial monuments

¹ See Gieseler § 68.

² Rev. xvii. 9.

³ Witness the well-known example of Victor in the 2nd century.

Since this Lecture was preached Hippolytus' book on Heresies has appeared ; and in the history of *Callistus* supplies another very remarkable example of the ambitious and evil character of some of the Roman bishops in the 3rd century.

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lately extant boasted) by the terrible Diocletianic persecution, rose all suddenly into the ascendant; and soon, having attained to absolute supremacy, trampled its old foe, Heathenism, in the dust. Herewith began the *second* half of the period through which I proposed to trace in this Lecture the progressive advance in the Church to apostacy. The Christians, astonished and delighted, forgot at the first in their delight all that was of sinister omen in the Scripture prophecies. It looked, they thought, as if God's kingdom had come, and those blessed times of regeneration foretold of by all the prophets. The crowding of candidates by thousands and tens of thousands to baptism, the honour shewn to living Christian confessors, and to the memory of deceased martyrs, the gathering of a Council of bishops from every part of Christendom under imperial auspices, and with imperial deference paid them, the adoption finally of the cross as the chief military standard of the empire,—were all marvellous; marvellous beyond almost all former marvels.¹—But very soon the outburst of the Arian heresy against Jesus Christ's divinity, in the now dominant Church, began to dispel the illusion: and the cry that Antichrist was at hand was again raised by Athanasius, Hilary, and others, with reference very specially to its prevalency.²

That particular heresy was indeed, after a half-century's struggle, all but vanquished. But then other phenomena had meanwhile risen or increased in the

¹ See on this my H. A. i. pp. 238—241.

² See H. A. iii. 38.

Church, that might well fix the regard, and awaken the fears, of each spiritually-minded Christian. Whence all those multitudinous baptisms ;—baptisms so numerous that, in the course of some fifty or sixty years from Constantine's first declaration in favour of Christianity, the number of professing Christians was increased probably full tenfold ? If originating from mere worldly motives, then those new professors, *who now formed the great majority of the Church*, were but tares in the gospel-field, not wheat.¹ In which case the voice of "the Church" would be but the voice of a majority unfaithful and unsound. And, indeed, did not the principles and worship, which by the end of the 4th Century had established themselves very generally within the pale of the professing Church, make the aspect of its religion almost as much that of an *Apostacy* from Christ, as of *Christianity* ? Martyr-veneration had now unfolded into martyr-worship. In the churches the perfume of incense, the glare of candles, and pictures of martyrs, with offerings suspended in their honour, such as are still commonly seen in Roman Catholic churches abroad, and the recitation of ceaseless prayer to them for their intercessions,—these were now the most marked characteristics of the public worship :—all surely very much like what had been practised by the heathen Romans previously, in honour and worship of their dæmon-deities. In truth, to borrow Coleridge's forcible language, there had been "a Paganizing of Christianity in order to chris-

¹ See p. 105.

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ten Paganism.”—Further, the *ascetic* life and discipline, which had been aforetime, alike by heathen Platonists and Christian Gnostics, as well as in a measure too by real but mistaken Christians of the 3rd century, held up to praise, as that which had in it merit and righteousness,—was now beyond measure held in admiration: and monkish ascetics, like Antony in Egypt, or Simeon Stylites in Syria, were revered [as the model of Christian perfection. “O foolish Galatians!” Surely that warning voice of St. Paul against looking to any righteousness but that by faith in Jesus, might well have been re-echoed in their ears.—Moreover, as regards the *Bishops* and the *Priesthood*, the *Judaic* view of their character and functions which already, we saw, ere the end of the 2nd century had been apparent in the Church, (taking the place, after the Jews’ final overthrow by Hadrian, of that direct Judaizing which St. Paul had reproved,) was now confirmed and established. The communion-table was more and more regarded as an altar; the consecrated bread as a propitiatory sacrifice;¹ the presbyters as sacrificing priests and mediators. Sacramental grace flowed *ipso facto* from *their* ministration of the sacraments. As a medium, they were the only communicators of life. “Propitiate the priesthood, and do well: else despair of salvation!” Such was the generally received doctrine. And was not this direct *anti-christianism*? Instead of Christ’s ministers now acting their proper part as ambassadors of Christ,

¹ See Gieseler, Div. i. § 99.

by urging each soul, in his stead, and, so far, as his representatives, to put itself into direct communication with Christ, as the only life-giver, mediator, and way to the Father, and Him too towards whom there should be the full and direct flow of the affections and inmost feelings of the heart,—instead of this, the priesthood now put themselves between the soul and Christ; drew off its regard from Him to themselves and their Church ministrations, as the source of life; and so were, as the late Dr. Arnold most justly declared, when denouncing the same system on its modern revival, essentially antichristian and Antichrists. The Christian life needed not, as once, to be hid with Christ in God.

Yet again, according to the accounts handed down to us, there was then more and more observable a spirit of pride and self-exaltation in the Episcopacy. It was but surely what might have been expected from poor human nature, under the circumstances of honour undue and unscriptural, such as the bishops now met with from high and low among the laity. More especially such was the case with the Bishops of the four great Sees of Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople, first distinguished as *Patriarchal* by the Council of Nice; ¹ above all with him of *Rome*. The pomp and pride of Damasus, Roman Bishop in the latter half of the 4th century, is the theme of the contemporary historian Ammianus Marcellinus.—There was still, however, a certain check to

¹ A. D. 325.

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that episcopal pride and power in the supreme imperial power. The *let*, or *hindrance*, had not as yet been quite taken away. For though Constantine, for his life, removed the imperial seat from Italy to Byzantium, so allowing far freer scope for the development of the Roman Bishop's ambition than could otherwise have been, yet was he an upholder of the high imperial prerogative. Moreover, after his death, there was again appointed a Western Emperor for Italy and the West, as well as an Eastern for the Eastern half of the Roman empire. And though the seven-hilled Rome itself was no longer the actual Western imperial seat, yet from Milan, or Ravenna, its distance was not so great but that there might be thence a certain measure of supervision, and check to any extraordinary act of self-exaltation on the part of the lordly Bishop of Rome.

At length, as the 5th century opened, a new and terrible change of things occurred. The Gothic hordes broke in overwhelming force over the Northern frontier of the Alps into Italy. The very existence of the Western Emperors, and of Rome itself, was threatened. From his retreat at Bethlehem the observant Jerome ominously marked the number *ten* as that of the chief Gothic invading hordes; that self-same number which had been marked out in the Apocalypse as destined to desolate the seven-hilled Babylon, and introduce Antichrist. Shortly after, Rome was actually taken. "The Roman world rushes to its fall," was again the fearful exclamation of Jerome,

“and men heed it not. *The let is taken away, and Antichrist is at hand.*”—His exclamation was indeed LECT.
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premature. Rome and its imperial power fell not just then. For near a century the flux and reflux of the barbarian deluge swept over the land, ere its fall was accomplished. At length, in the year 476, the event took place which Jerome had anticipated:—“THE LET WAS TAKEN AWAY.”—Was then ANTICHRIST AT HAND? Did his manifestation, as the head of the now nearly-matured apostacy, take place really about this time; and on that *seven-hilled-site* which seemed to be marked out in prophecy as the seat of the Man of Sin, or Antichrist? The answer to this question I reserve as the subject of my next Lecture.

LECTURE III.

2 THESS. II. 1—12.

“NOW WE BESEECH YOU, BRETHREN, IN REGARD OF THE COMING OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, AND OF OUR GATHERING TOGETHER UNTO HIM, THAT YE BE NOT SOON SHAKEN IN MIND, OR TROUBLED, NEITHER BY SPIRIT, NOR BY WORD, NOR BY LETTER AS FROM US, AS THAT THE DAY OF CHRIST IS AT HAND. LET NO MAN DECEIVE YOU BY ANY MEANS. FOR THAT DAY SHALL NOT COME, EXCEPT THERE FIRST COME THE APOSTACY; AND THAT MAN OF SIN BE REVEALED, THE SON OF PERDITION, WHO OPPOSETH AND EXALTEH HIMSELF ABOVE ALL THAT IS CALLED GOD, OR THAT IS WORSHIPPED: SO THAT HE [AS GOD] SITTETH IN THE TEMPLE OF GOD, SHOWING HIMSELF THAT HE IS GOD. REMEMBER YE NOT THAT, WHEN I WAS YET WITH YOU, I TOLD YOU THESE THINGS? AND NOW YE KNOW WHAT WITHHOLDETH THAT HE MIGHT BE REVEALED IN HIS TIME. FOR THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY DOTH ALREADY WORK: ONLY HE WHO NOW LETTETH WILL LET UNTIL HE BE TAKEN OUT OF THE WAY. AND THEN SHALL THAT WICKED ONE BE REVEALED, WHOM THE LORD SHALL CONSUME WITH THE SPIRIT OF HIS MOUTH, AND SHALL DESTROY WITH THE BRIGHTNESS OF HIS COMING. EVEN HIM WHOSE COMING IS AFTER THE WORKING OF SATAN, WITH ALL POWER, AND SIGNS, AND LYING WONDERS; AND WITH ALL DECEIVABLENESS OF UNRIGHTEOUSNESS IN THEM THAT PERISH; BECAUSE THEY RECEIVED NOT THE LOVE OF THE TRUTH THAT THEY MIGHT BE SAVED. AND FOR THIS CAUSE GOD SHALL SEND THEM STRONG DELUSION, THAT THEY SHOULD BELIEVE A LIE: THAT THEY ALL MIGHT BE CONDEMNED WHO BELIEVED NOT THE TRUTH, BUT HAD PLEASURE IN UNRIGHTEOUSNESS.”

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IN the last Lecture I brought down my sketch of the gradual indoctrination of the Christian Church with antichristian views and principles, whereby appropi-

mation was made more and more towards a state of actual apostacy from the truth as it is in Christ Jesus, to the first half of the 5th century :—that eventful æra during which the flood of Gothic invasion swept over Italy and the whole Western Roman empire ; threatening absolutely to extinguish the Roman imperial power, which then still faintly reigned at Milan or Ravenna ; and thereby to complete the removal of the well-understood *let*, or *hindrance*, hinted by St. Paul to the *Man of Sin's* manifestation on Rome's seven hills.—It is at this chronological epoch that I now take up the argument :—my subject in the present Lecture being *the let removed ; the man of sin manifested* ; and, under his headship, the apostacy of the Church visible in the old Roman world made absolute : nor this alone ; but, through the spiritual subjection to him of certain new-formed kingdoms there, this head of the apostate Church invested, according to the prediction, with *vast antichristian political power*.—It may be well just to remind you, ere proceeding, of the three chief criticisms argued out in my preceding Lecture :—to the effect, 1st, as to the term *Antichrist*, (St. John's synonym for St. Paul's *Man of Sin*,) that it must needs mean either *an opposition Christ*, or *a self-appointed usurping Vice-Christ*, albeit in profession acknowledging *Jesus Christ* ; 2nd, as to the *Man of Sin*, that that expression is applicable as well to *a succession of men*, answering each for the time being to the character, as to one single individual man ; 3rd, as to *the temple of God*, in which

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Throughout nearly the whole then of the 5th century the flux and reflux of that mighty barbaric inundation of which Jerom, in remembrance of the prophecies about Antichrist, had tremblingly marked the commencement, was continued over the Western Roman empire. Alaric, Rhadagaisus, Genseric, Attila, Odoacer, are the names of the Gothic, Vandal, Hunnish, and Herulian chiefs, that stand out most prominent on the historic page. The result was, on the one hand, that in Britain, Gaul, Spain, and others too of the old Roman Western provinces, dynasties of the mixt Romano-Gothic element had already begun to emerge from the flood : on the other, that in Italy, after a succession of desolating invasions, the Western emperor's power was reduced more and more nearly to a nonentity ; and locally cooped up, from after the middle of the 5th century, pretty much within the city and marshes of Ravenna. At length persuaded by the Herulian captain Odoacer, who then occupied the North of Italy, that one emperor was sufficient for the whole Roman territorial empire, Eastern and Western, the last titular emperor of the West, named, as if in bitter irony, *Romulus Augustulus*, signed his own deed of abdication ; and sent away the imperial insignia to his brother emperor reigning at Constantinople. This was in the year

A. D. 476. So, we see, was the let of a Roman secular emperorship of the old regime, at or near Rome, finally removed: and a completion given to that weakening of his power which had for all the preceding part of the century been in continuous progress. Now the very fact that the removal of such a secular power from Rome, and Rome's neighbourhood, was necessary according to St. Paul, (as the early Christians understood Paul's meaning,) in order to the Man of Sin's *manifestation and reign*, might seem of itself to mark out the imperial seat on *Rome's seven hills* as the seat of the Man of Sin's subsequently reigning: a surmise confirmed, as will be shown in a later Lecture, by the direct statement to that effect of St. John in the Apocalypse. Which being so, we are of course called on, in pursuance of our subject, to look at what had been passing at Rome during the flux and reflux of the Gothic inundation in the 5th century, and more particularly on the part of him who was then established there as head of the now deeply corrupted, though not absolutely apostatized Christian Church in the Western empire, I mean the *Bishop of Rome*.

And behold we find that there was just at that very time put forth boldly and prominently by the Roman Bishop a claim the most extraordinary:—a claim, namely, to *the plenipotentary government of the whole Christian Church*; vested, as was said, in himself for the time being, and the line of the Bishops of Rome after him continuously, as being the ex-

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officio representatives of St. Peter: which apostle Jesus Christ had constituted his vicar, in those words of the Gospel, “Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and I give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.”—First spoke to this effect *Pope Boniface*, in his missive to the Thessalian and Illyrian Bishops, dated in the years 419, 422. “To the blessed Peter,” (i. e. to Peter *as head of the line of Bishops of Rome*,) “the headship¹ of the priesthood has been committed by Christ’s own voice: Peter, in whom the foundation is laid of the universal Church; Peter, on whom rests its whole government; and from whom, whosoever separates himself, is cut off from the religion and Church of Christ.”—Next in the Council of Ephesus, A. D. 431, the Legate of *Pope Celestine* thus reasserted the claim: “It is a thing undoubted that the apostle Peter received the keys, and the power of binding and loosing: which Peter still lives and exercises judgment in the person of his successors [in the Roman See], even to this day, and always.”—The same was the style of the famous *Pope Leo*, and his Legates, in the Council of Chalcedon, some twenty years later: proclaiming him, as they did, the head of all Churches; “because Peter spoke in Leo.” In which character indeed, and by which authority, Leo himself indignantly cancelled one of the Canons of the Council that he disapproved, as not duly recognizing the universal supremacy of the Roman Pontiff:—“Consecrationes

¹ ARX.

episcoporum per auctoritatem beati Petri in irritum mittimus, et generali prorsus definitione cassamus.” LECT.
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And, as to Christian Churches at a distance, so similarly was the boast vaunted by him to his own Roman flock at home:—a sermon of his on St. Peter’s and St. Paul’s day thus running: “As being the see of the blessed Peter, thou Rome art made the head of the world; so as to have even wider rule through divine religion than by the power of earthly [secular] domination.” On the same ground Leo asserted himself to be the ex-officio “guardian of the catholic faith, and of the traditions [the *unwritten* traditions] of the fathers:” thereby holding up another rule of faith, besides that in the written books of the New Testament; and one in the tenure, and subject to the pleasure, of the Bishop of Rome. Moreover he declared that “whosoever disputed the primacy and authority of the Roman see, seeing it was the rock on which by Jesus Christ’s own ordinance the universal Christian Church was built, that disputer was none other than the Devil, or Antichrist.”—Pass we onward next to Leo’s immediate successor in the Roman Bishopric, I mean *Pope Hilary*: and still we hear from him the same language about the Roman Bishop, as being officially vicar of St. Peter; to whom, forthwith from after the resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ, “the keys of the kingdom belonged.”—Again, towards the close of the same 5th century, after Odoacer’s extinction of the old Roman Western empire, and Odoacer’s own over-

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throw by the Ostrogoth Theodoric, whose new barbaric kingdom of Northern Italy now extended from Milan as his capital over all Italy southward,—I say just then *Pope Gelasius* re-asserted his right to ecclesiastical and spiritual supremacy over the whole Church and Christendom, in his character of *Peter's* vicar. “There are two authorities,” wrote Gelasius, about the year 493, to the Eastern emperor at Constantinople, “by which the world is governed, the *pontifical* and the *royal*: the sacerdotal order being that which has charge of the sacraments of life, and from which thou must seek the effecting of thy salvation. So that in divine things it becomes kings to bow the neck to priests, and specially to the head of priests, [i.e. the Roman Bishop,] whom Christ's own voice has set over the universal Church.” A sentiment this, solemnly adopted and re-echoed by a body of Italian Bishops then assembled at Rome in synod; who, with significant change of phrase, now applied to this Roman Pope the ever-memorable title of CHRIST'S VICAR;¹ shouting in acclamation six or eight times, we read, “In te VICARIUM CHRISTI videmus.” And so accordingly, about the year 500, (mark, I pray you, the natural practical corollary from this once admitted dogma,) when an ecclesiastical Council had been convened at Rome by king Theodoric's command, to judge of certain charges which he had to

¹ Cyprian had before in unguarded language called the bishops generally, i. e. each in his own limited sphere, “Christi vicarios.” But now *one* man was recognized as such, in absolute and sole dominion.

prefer against Pope Symmachus, the Council demurred to entering on the matter, because of its having reference to a person who, as being *Peter's*, and consequently CHRIST'S, *living representative on earth*, was “*supreme above all ecclesiastical jurisdiction.*” And again by another Episcopal synod, assembled shortly after at Rome, with Pope Symmachus himself presiding, there was adopted in the most solemn manner a book written by Ennodius in defence of the resolutions of the preceding Roman synod: in which book the dogma was laid down, that the Pope was supreme judge in his character of GOD'S VICAR, and “*could himself be judged by no man.*”¹

Thus had there been manifested before the world, on the recently-vacated imperial seat of the seven hills of Rome, one calling himself CHRIST'S VICAR, or VICE-CHRIST:² (that which, in the most proper etymological sense of the term, is, as we saw, the precise equivalent to the word *Antichrist*:)—one who, in virtue of this his official character, laid claim to dominion over the universal Church, and moreover to being *himself above law*, and not amenable to it: (the very meaning of *ανομος*,³ St. Paul's appellative

¹ See on all this my Part iv. chap. v. § 1. of the *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, where the original authorities and citations are fully given.

² A very different thing from a king's being in his own proper kingdom the *minister of God*; (Θεοῦ διακονος, Rom. xiii. 4;) i. e. one appointed in God's Providence to minister for good, according to God's law. Yet some persons have strangely endeavoured to justify the Roman Pope's pretensions to the Vicegerency of Christ on earth, on the ground of this parallel.

³ So the Greek, rendered in our English Version, *that wicked one*, Says Schleusner on *ανομος*; “*Proprie exlex, cui lex non est data*;

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of the Man of Sin :) one too who, sitting in this character of Christ's representative in the temple of God, or Christian professing Church, was publicly so recognized by ecclesiastical Councils, and hailed and venerated as such. Surely the case was in every point, so far as it has been hitherto considered, one most singularly accordant with St. Paul's prophetic description of the *Man of Sin* !

But was he a *legitimately* appointed *Vice-Christ*, or a *usurper* of the so-assumed title and office? Here arises an interesting and all-important question ; one too on which, as all know, directly opposite opinions are held by different Churches. The Romanists aver that the Roman bishop *was* legitimately appointed to the office by Christ himself ; just as much as the *Viceroy* of Peru, or the Indies, was appointed in the 16th and 17th centuries to *his* Viceregal office by the King of Spain. The Protestant Churches, with common voice, utterly deny it. Let us examine the evidence, and judge.

The groundwork of the Papal claim rests, we have seen, on Christ's declaration to Peter, after that disciple's noble confession of him as the Christ, the Son of God, "Thou art Peter (Πετρος),¹ and upon this

unde ἀνομοὶ κατ' ἐξοχὴν vocantur Gentiles, qui non adstricti sunt legi Mosaicæ et ceremoniali. Sic 1 Cor. ix. 21, τοῖς ἀνομοῖς ὡς ἀνομος." The second meaning given is, "*impius, legum divinarum contemptor.*" A meaning involved in the former, in the case of one who, like the Pope, is free from obligation to God's law by being above that law.

¹ ὅτι σὺ εἶ Πέτρος. I am here supposing this reading to be genuine. But I cannot but have a suspicion with Granville Penn, and others,

(*πετρα*, or) rock, I will build my Church; and the gates of hell (or hades) shall not prevail against it: and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." For Peter, they say, was the real apostolic founder, and first Bishop, of the Roman Church; and so the subsequent Bishops of Rome Peter's heirs and successors in the power. Accordingly round the magnificent high-raised vault of St. Peter's at Rome these words are blazoned, in their Latin form, as the very charter-deed of this claimant of Christ's Vicegerency on earth; "Tu es Petrus; et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam; et dabo tibi claves regni cœlorum."—Now the difference of the words *πετρος* and *πετρα*, in the first clause of this verse, is at once obvious to the reader of the Gospel in its Greek original; and it was early noted and rested on, in their explanation of Christ's statement, by some of the most eminent of the early Christian fathers. The view of some was to the effect that *Christ himself* was the *πετρα*, or *rock*, to be built upon, Peter only a *stone* taken from the rock. So e. g. Origen; "He said that he should be called *Peter*, being so named from the *petra* (or rock) which is Christ."¹ And Augustine; "Petrus à petrâ; non petra à Petro."—It is indeed argued by Cardinals Bellarmine and

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that the true reading may be, *ὅτι σὺ εἶπας*, "*Thou hast said*; and on this rock," &c. In uncials the contract form of the *πας* might be thus, ΠΣ. Whence the expansion of the ΠΣ into ΠΕΤΡΟΣ. Augustine and Jerom knew this reading.—In Mark (*Peter's own Gospel*) it is remarkable that the famous donatory clause does not appear.

¹ Πέτρον αὐτον κληθήσεσθαι εἶπε, προνομασθέντα ἀπο τῆς πέτρας, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός. On John i. 41.

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Wiseman, that in the Syriac language, spoken by Christ, the word for both *Peter* and a *rock* would be the same, *Kephas*. But if the evangelists wrote under inspiration from God, (and on this point Romanists profess not to differ from us,) then surely we should take the *Greek* text, *as they wrote it*, for the ground-work of our argument. Origen well knew what the Syriac was: but this did not affect his view of the intent of the passage.—Another explanation early given of the word *πετρα* in it, and which seems indeed most reasonable, especially from considering that what Peter had said was said by him as the spokesman of the general body of the disciples,¹ was to the effect that the rock intended was the *confession of faith* made by Peter in their name. So Justin Martyr,² Chrysostom,³ and others.—Yet again, even supposing that those words of Christ, “*I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,*” were necessarily to be applied to Peter *personally*, would they not have had sufficient fulfilment in the fact of Peter being that one, out of all the apostles, to whom the special honour was given of opening the Church of Christ to both Jews and Gentiles?—to Jewish converts, in the first place, on the memorable day of Pentecost; afterwards to Gentile converts, in the person of the Roman centurion Cornelius and his family? Did he not thereby act as the key-bearer of the Christian Church?

¹ “Whom say ye that I am? And *Peter* said,” &c.

² Dial. cum Tryph. p. 255.

³ Τη πετρα . . . τῷ πετρῷ τῇ πιστεὶ τῆς ὁμολογίας. Chrysost. in loc.

Since, however, the whole structure of the Papacy rests (argumentatively) on the correctness of the Romish construction of this celebrated passage, it may be well to examine it more fully : and thus to show how palpably on this head, as well as on many others, falsehood marked the very introduction and incoming of the Man of Sin ; just in accordance with what is said of him in the prediction of St. Paul now before us, “ whose incoming is with *all deceivableness* of unrighteousness.”

There are two propositions involved in the Romish interpretation of Christ's declaration to Peter :—the *first* that it conveyed to Peter personally, and as distinguished from all the other apostles, the office of being during life Christ's Vicegerent on earth, i. e. from the time of Jesus Christ's own ascension to heaven :—*secondly*, that the office was to be devolved by Peter, on death, to the bishops of Rome after him ; as being his descendants, and representatives, in the see (the Roman see) first founded by him. The failure of demonstration in either one of these two propositions involves the failure of the whole Papal theory. We shall see that it fails most grossly in both.

As regards the *former* of the two propositions, we may be sure that, if the office was really given, in presence of the other disciples, to *Peter* for his own life, the fact must have been well known both to Peter and to them : moreover that, if known to them, it ought to have been insisted on by them all, as a

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point of religion absolutely vital ; seeing that to submit to Peter would be to submit to Christ, and to be separated from Peter, (as declared, we saw, by Boniface in 420, and by every Romish Bishop after him,) would be to be separated from Christ and salvation. Indeed, might not Christ himself have been expected to have made most clear, and insisted most strongly on, this vital doctrine of salvation, before himself leaving the world ? But was such the case in regard either of Christ, or Peter, or the other disciples ? On *Jesus Christ's* part, and from amidst his multitudinous statements on the great doctrines of salvation, besides the contested passage in St. Matthew, the Romanist doctors themselves do not pretend to have any to allege ; save and except indeed Christ's charge to Peter, after his resurrection, to feed his sheep : a charge however which had evidently nothing peculiar in it ; being only what was repeated by Paul, long afterwards, to the elders of Ephesus.¹—Again, turning to the *apostles*, there is to be found in the several epistles of *John*, *James*, and *Jude*, not only no reference to Peter's supremacy, but no mention whatsoever even of the name of their brother apostle Peter. While in the epistles of *Paul* the only notices of him are just such as run directly counter to the Romish hypothesis : seeing that he speaks of his having gained nothing from Peter ; of his not being a whit behind Peter in right of his apostleship, any more than behind the

¹ The one, "Feed my sheep." The other, "Feed the flock of Christ which is committed to you."

other apostles ; and of Peter having dissembled on one very important occasion, and his being obliged to rebuke him : moreover, that he reproves (instead of commending) the party at Corinth that said, “ I am of *Peter*,” just as much as that which profest chiefly to regard Apollos ; tells of its being understood between him and Peter that Peter’s special mission was to the Jews, Paul’s to the Gentiles ; and, in fine, describes the Church as built on the foundation, (not of Peter but,) “ of the prophets and apostles generally, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone.”¹ And so too indeed *St. Peter* himself, in his own two epistles. There surely, if any where, we might expect that the announcement would have been made, and the duty insisted on ;—“ Except ye be united and subject to me Peter, in my character as the head of the universal Church, and Vicegerent of Christ upon earth, there is no salvation for you.” But in these his epistles it is all Christ, no Peter. Had he known, and had the other apostles known, what the Romanists assert of Christ’s assignment of his Viceregency on earth to Peter, they would surely in their silence on the subject have been guilty of nothing less than *deliberate soul-murder*.

Further, as regards the *second* proposition involved in this Romish theory of the intent of Christ’s words to Peter in the passage under consideration, to the effect that the Vicegerency of Christ on earth, and keys of the kingdom of heaven, were given to Peter,

¹ 2 Cor. xii. 11 ; Gal. ii. 6—9, 11 ; 1 Cor. i. 12, 13 ; Eph. ii. 20.

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not individually alone, and for his own life, but to the long line of *Romish bishops* after him, *as his heirs and successors in the Romish See*, I need hardly say that neither by Christ himself, nor by any one of the apostles after him, was there any intimation of Peter's own destined connexion with Rome; or of Rome as a place that would by consequence in the Christian dispensation have any peculiar privileges, or prerogative, attached to it. In fact the only prophetic notice of Rome is in symbolic language to an effect directly the contrary; viz. as the Babylon of the seven hills, that was to be the seat of the Beast, or Antichrist.—Moreover as to the presumed historic fact of Peter having been the apostolic founder of the Romish Church and Bishopric, and so head of the line of the Bishops of Rome, it is not only doubtful, but may be absolutely disproved from the Scripture history itself. For let me pray you to remember the ancient Canon, (a Canon ever afterwards held sacred in the Romish as well as other divisions of the Christian professing Church,)¹ that no bishop may intrude with

¹ So the 13th of the (so called) Apostolic Canons; επισκοπον μη εζειναι καταλειψαντα την εαυτου παροικιαν ετερα επιπηδῶν, καὶ ὑπο πλειονων αναγκαζεται.

The Council of Nice, A. D. 325, in its 8th Canon provides that any Novatian Bishop, who might conform to the Catholic Church in a place where there was a Catholic Bishop, should only be counted as a chorepiscopus, or presbyter, in order that there might not be two bishops in one city; ινα μη εν τη πολει δυο επισκοποι ωσιν.

The 1st Council of Carthage, A. D. 348, in its 10th Canon lays down, "Inhibendum est ne quis alienos fines usurpet, aut transcendat episcopum collegam suum, aut usurpet alterius fines sine ejus petitu, quia inde cætera mala generantur."

exercise of his episcopal authority into another's diocese : and then, and with recollection of this on your minds, to consider the clear historic evidence to show that *Paul*, not *Peter*, was the first apostolic visitor of the Church at Rome ; and consequently he to whom, and whom alone, (if an apostle might be convertible into a mere local bishop,) the headship of the line of bishops of Rome is, as its first bishop, to be ascribed. In order to see this, it needs that we look somewhat fully into the history and chronology of the Acts. And the circumstance of the point having been hitherto scarcely investigated and considered as its importance demands,¹ makes our attention to it the more imperative.

It is the Romanists' theory then, (well knowing the Canon that I speak of, and consequent necessity of making *Peter* to have been the *first* apostle that visited Rome,) that about the year 44, immediately after deliverance from the prison into which Herod had cast him, and St. Paul's contemporary visit to the Jeru-

And so two other Carthaginian Councils, held A. D. 390 and 397. See Harduin. Concil. i. 11, 326, 687, 953, 963.

So also Pope Innocent, about the year 400 ; *ibid.* 1008. And so, in fine, the Council of Trent, Sess. vi. c. 5 ; "Nulli episcopo liceat, cujusvis privilegii prætextu, pontificalia in alterius diocæsi exercere." Hard. x. 45.

¹ Romish writers, (e.g. Wiseman) have generally argued the question as if it were merely that of Peter's *ever* having been at Rome ; and then triumphantly quoted Protestant divines admitting that that was the scene of his martyrdom. And many Protestants, in their zeal against the Papal claims, have denied the fact of Peter's having *ever* been at Rome, in contravention of various patristic testimony ; as if that had been necessary to their argument.

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saalem Church with alms from Antioch,¹ Peter first went to Rome, and there founded the Roman Church : that, on Claudius' decree for the expulsion of Jews from Rome, he quitted the city, (which, except for such grave cause, its bishop might not do,) as also did Aquila and Priscilla, and arrived at Jerusalem just in time to assist at the famous Jerusalem Council, about the year 49 ; in the proceedings of which both he, and James, and Paul took part :² that on Claudius' death, and Nero's accession to the empire, A.D. 54, the cause of his otherwise reprehensible absence from his See being removed, he returned to Rome ; and continued there, sometimes making missionary circuits in Italy from Rome as his centre, till his martyrdom in that city about the same time as St. Paul's martyrdom, in the year 66, or 67.³

Such, I say, is the Romish theory. But for refutation of each and every part of it we need but to look carefully into the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles. At the Council at Jerusalem (where the great question was debated, whether the rites of the Jewish law were to be imposed on the converted Gentiles) we read how the assembled Hebrew Christians listened in breathless silence to the relation given by Paul and Barnabas of the wonders done by God among the Gentiles through them, in their late missionary journey and labors in Cyprus, Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, Antioch.⁴ Is it credible then that Peter, who also

¹ See Acts xii.

² Acts xv. 6, &c.

³ See Bellarm. De Sum. Pontif.

⁴ See the history of the proceedings of the Council, Acts xv.

spoke on the occasion, and told the well-known story of his appointment by God to begin the preaching of the Gospel to Gentiles, as in the case of Cornelius, and how the Holy Ghost was given to those Gentile Christians after his preaching, just as to Christians of the Jews,³—is it, I say, credible that on such an occasion Peter, if just fresh from his mighty missionary success at the Roman capital, and founding there of a nobler Gentile Church than any at Derbe, Iconium, or Antioch, should have never made the slightest allusion to the matter?—Further, whereas Paul, on his great subsequent missionary tour, by way of Syria, Cilicia, Phrygia, and the Macedonian cities of Philippi and Thessalonica, to Athens and Corinth, is stated to have *then* found Aquila and Priscilla *just recently* arrived at Corinth in consequence of Claudius' edict banishing Jews from Rome,¹ is it likely that Peter should, *under compulsion of the same edict*, have arrived from Italy at Jerusalem, in time for the Council there, *a full year, or year and a half, before Paul's arrival at Corinth*, and consequently before that of Aquila and Priscilla?—Some four or five years after this, as is evident from the chronology of the Acts, and consequently after Nero's accession, Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans, on occasion of a second visit to Corinth. By this time, on Bellarmine's and the Romish theory, Peter must have been again at his Roman See, or at least near it, in his Roman Diocese. And, if so, would not Paul have noticed

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¹ Acts xviii. 2, *προσφάτως ἐληλυθота ἀπο τῆς Ἰταλίας.*

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him, and sent salutations to him, among the many other salutations in the last chapter of his Epistle? Whereas not a notice is there, as we well know, of Peter in these salutations. Moreover, when he speaks in the first chapter of that same Epistle of the longing desire that he had had to visit the Roman Christians, *in order to his imparting to them of some spiritual gift*,¹ is it possible he should so have written if, not only had some inferior apostle been previously there, with power to impart such spiritual gifts, but *Peter himself*, the most gifted of all, the prince of the apostles, yea, and very VICEGERENT OF CHRIST upon earth?—After this came Paul's first visit to, and imprisonment at, Rome. We read how the Christians of Rome went out to Appii Forum to meet him.² But no mention is there of Peter among them. The *Jews* there then came to meet him; and exprest their desire to hear what he had to say about Christianity, which was everywhere spoken against; evidently as those who had never before had any high Christian authority, like Paul's, to instruct them on the subject.³ Could this have been had Peter, the special apostle of the Jews,⁴ been at Rome for years previously?—Moreover, whereas during the two years that he stayed in his own hired house at Rome on that occasion, Paul wrote no less than four still extant epistles to other Churches, viz. those to the Colossians, Philemon,

¹ Rom. i. 11; *ἵνα τι μεταδῶ χάρισμα ὑμῖν πνευματικόν*. On the *χαρίσματα*, or spiritual gifts, imparted by an apostle, compare 1 Cor. xii. 4, &c.

² Acts xxviii. 15.

³ Ib. 21, 22.

⁴ Gal. ii. 8, 9.

Ephesians, Philippians,—each saying something of his own state at Rome, and three containing the names of various Christians at Rome that joined in his salutations to those he was addressing,¹—not one mention does there occur in any one of them of St. Peter as his companion, or of Peter as joining in any of the salutations.—Nay, on occasion of Paul's second and last imprisonment at Rome, he tells in his 2nd Epistle to Timothy how, when he was called up to trial before Nero, “no one stood by him.” Could Peter then have been with him there?²—My brethren, it is a particular satisfaction to me, while speaking on this subject, to remember that I am addressing an auditory more qualified than perhaps any other auditory to judge on questions of fact from written evidence. And gladly do I leave it with you to consider the completeness of the evidence thus incidentally given in the Acts and the Epistles; in proof that up to the end of Paul's first imprisonment Peter could not have visited Rome, nor probably till Paul's second imprisonment was already far advanced. It is very possible that Peter may have been *martyred* at Rome about the time Paul was; so as is asserted by some of the earlier fathers.³ But we have proved that, if so, he could only have come to Rome just be-

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¹ Viz. those to the Philippians, Colossians, Philemon.

² See on all this chronology of the Acts a tabular scheme of the Pauline Chronology printed in the Appendix to this Volume. It will be found, I think, by the reader very useful.

³ Dionysius of Corinth seems to be the earliest of the fathers that notes this. He wrote about A. D. 170. After him Caius and Tertullian, about A. D. 200. So Eusebius H. E. ii. 25.

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fore, perhaps for, his martyrdom; even as Ignatius, some fifty or sixty years later, was sent from Antioch to be executed at Rome.¹ Consequently *Paul* (if indeed an apostle might be turned into a local bishop) must be considered *distinctively* and *alone* to have been Rome's first bishop, and consequently head of the long subsequent line of Bishops of Rome. In which case all devolution of *Peter's* supposed mighty prerogative of the VICEGERENCY OF CHRIST on Roman Bishops, as *his successors in the see*, becomes out of the question: seeing that on clear historic evidence Peter himself could not have been Bishop of Rome.

Let me add (though indeed I have dwelt almost too long on the point) that all testimony of the early fathers on this question, whether the Romish Bishops had the prerogative of the Vicegerency of Christ on earth, as heirs of Peter's prerogative, is against, not in favor of the claim. *Clement* himself, the Bishop of Rome next after the time of St. John, in his Epistle to the Corinthian Church, written probably about the year A.D. 108 or 110, says not one word of his having the authority of Vicegerent of Christ, so derived; though the subject of the letter, being that of certain divisions of the Corinthian Church, was just one which should have called for its assertion. No; nor yet other fathers after *Clement*, for two centuries and more.²—At length in the year 325,

¹ So Origen; 'Ὁς καὶ ἐπὶ τελευτῇ ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενομένου ἀνεσκόληται κατὰ κεφαλῆς. Apud Euseb. H. E. iii. 1.

² *Irenæus*, about 170, speaks of Rome as the "principalis eccle-

after that the great Constantinian politico-religious revolution had brought Christianity into ascendancy in the Roman empire, when the first general Council, that of Nice, had assembled under Constantine's auspices, and, when met, assigned their respective dignities to the Metropolitan Bishops, or Patriarchs, of Rome, Antioch, Alexandria,—they were each noticed by the Council in much the same terms; each declared entitled to similar dignity in their respective Patriarchates: ¹ and not one word, or hint, dropped of the Bishop of Rome having the incomparable superiority, above all others upon earth, of being, by virtue of descent from Peter, *Christ's* VICEGERENT upon earth!—It was not till the epoch I have noticed of Popes Boniface, Celestine, and Leo, in the 5th century, just when the old Roman Imperial supervising and controlling power was on the point of extinction, that the claim to the Vicegerency of Christ on earth was so put forth by Bishops of Rome. And even then the Council of Chalcedon, held A.D. 451, spoke of the privilege of the Bishop of Rome as derived simply from Rome's having been the imperial capital; without a word of reference to Peter.²

sia," or primary Church in the West; but not a word about its bishop being Christ's vicegerent on earth.

Cyprian, some 70 or 80 years later, speaks of Peter as the centre of ecclesiastical unity. But by it he means Peter as the spokesman of the whole apostolic body; and so the representative of the whole episcopal body in the Church afterwards.

¹ Τα αρχαία εθνη κρατειτω . . . ὥς τε τον Αλεξανδρείας επισκοπον παντων τουτων (εν Αιγυπτῳ) εχειν την εξουσιαν' επειδη και τῳ εν τῇ Ῥωμῇ επισκοπῳ τουτο σονηθες εστιν. Can. vi.

² Τῳ θρονῳ της πρεσβυτερας Ῥωμης, δια το βασιλευειν την πολιν

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Thus clearly was the whole claim an usurpation. And need I impress on you, brethren, the monstrosity of the usurpation? Surely it must be evident that it involved in it nothing less than a perversion of the very essence of religion: seeing that it directed the eye, and thought, and heart, of each seeker of salvation Romeward, instead of heavenward; to the Pope, instead of to Christ. It was not merely as the Gnostics of St. John's time that the Roman Bishops, in assuming this character, became Antichrists; viz. as usurping simply, or chiefly, Christ's office of prophet and teacher. The Popes became Vice-Christ, or Antichrists, with reference to each one of *all* the *three* great offices that Christ had been anointed to for man's salvation, alike of Prophet, Priest, and King. It was he to whom was committed the keeping of that secret divine tradition which was to be the rule of Christian faith:—he, and his derived priests, to whom alone appertained the offering of the propitiating sacrifice of the mass, without which there could be no life to the soul; he, and his law, that was to be obeyed, without respect of private judgment or conscience. As to God's Bible it was sure, on this system, to become more and more a book neglected; and, sooner or later, one prohibited.—Besides all which we must remember that the several corruptions and errors that I have noted as having arisen in the Christian Church at the opening of the 5th century,—such

especially as that of the worship of saints, and of their relics and images, as if men's guardian spirits and mediators with God, the view of sacraments as life-giving charms and mysteries, and of asceticism and celibacy as having religious merit in them, the doctrine too of purgatory after death,—had been all adopted, as essential parts of his system, by the Roman Bishop. They included in them a “deceivableness of unrighteousness,” well agreeing with what St. Paul had predicted of the Man of Sin. And, as he acquired more and more of secular power to support him, they were one and all of course to be by that power authoritatively enforced.

And this leads me to note, what St. Paul's prophecy seemed to imply, the Man of Sin's attaining to great political power; a point this however which was much more fully and directly prefigured (as we shall hereafter see) in the Apocalypse. Marvellous it was, most marvellous, that such pretensions should by a Bishop of the professing Christian Church have been ever raised. But that they should have been recognized, and submitted to, by any of the kings of the earth, must seem almost an equal marvel. Yet such we know was the case. In a subsequent Lecture I shall probably have to show, when considering the fuller and more detailed Apocalyptic prophecy, how of the ten new-formed barbaric kingdoms on the platform of the old Roman Western empire, each and every one, in the course of the 5th and 6th centuries, gradually submitted itself to the spiritual yoke of CHRIST'S VICAR at Rome: and how, when these had

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become the willing subjects *de facto* of the Pope, the reigning emperor at Constantinople, whose paramount dignity and authority were still in a certain manner recognized even by the Western Romano-Gothic kings, issued an edict about the close of the 6th century, or opening of the 7th, acknowledging the Roman Pope's universal episcopate, and so giving it a kind of *de jure* status before the world.—Very singularly, Pope Gregory, just before this, when some such title of Universal Bishop was temporarily claimed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, had declared that he who made such claim was *the precursor of Antichrist*.¹ Yet that self-same title his own successor Boniface asked, and obtained, from the Eastern Emperor Phocas;² a title thenceforth never to be abandoned by the Bishops of Rome. This, we shall see, was in the year 606; a year consequently ever memorable in the history of the rise of the Papacy.

Nor was another point in the prophecy before us unfulfilled at the time referred to; viz. that the rise of the Man of Sin would be with *signs* and *lying wonders*. Full well does the history of the Roman Pope's establishment of his authority in the world agree with this prophetic intimation also. It is said by Gibbon of Pope Gregory, that "he was always ready to confirm the truths of religion by the evidence of *ghosts* and *miracles*:" and by Mosheim, that "the clergy then silenced every objection by appeal to *two* things, *the authority of the Church*, and *miracles*." The false-

¹ Cited in H. A. i. 375, 376, iii. 179.

² See *ibid.* iii. 147, iv. 609.

hood of the Roman Church's claim to *authority*, as being *Peter's Church*, we have already seen. The falsehood of its *miracles* I need not here insist on. It needed, one might have thought till of late,¹ a dark age indeed to believe them. But let me just suggest to you, on this head, the close connexion of *the apostacy* with the Pope's establishment in power. It was in the doctrines of *purgatory*, and of the deified *saints and martyrs*, that a foundation was laid for belief in those lying miracles, with which the Romish priesthood inculcated superstitious subjection to the Papal Church, and to the Pope.

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Thenceforth, and so established, the Roman Pope did indeed in the temple of God, or Christian professing Church, show himself, and receive adoration, "as God," i.e. in the character of God's Vicar: a system of adoration which visitors at Rome may still see with their own eyes, as I have myself done, every time that the Pope attends divine worship, even at the present day.²—On this however it is not now the time to dwell. The *reign* of the Man of Sin, or Antichrist, after becoming head of the apostatized Church, will be, please God, one main subject of my next series of Lectures, as fully prophesied of in the *Apocalypse*. At present suffice it to recal to your minds the ever-memorable prophetic details respecting the apostacy, and Man of Sin that was to head it, given in our Text; and to ask you if each and all of them have not been shown to have had their exact fulfilment in the gradual

¹ Said in allusion to Dr. Newman!

² See H. A. iii. 166, 167.

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apostacy of the Christian professing Church in the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries, and speedily succeeding establishment in power of the Roman Bishops as VICARS OF CHRIST.¹ Well surely might Bishop Warburton, and so many other of the most learned Bishops and Doctors of our Church, urge the fulfilment of the Pauline prophecy as an evidence of inspiration in the Christian prophet, and of the truth of the Christian religion.

In concluding my present triad of Lectures, allow me to make reference, Brethren, to the subject of *Papal aggression*,² now so prominent in the mouths

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 1—12. "Now we beseech you, brethren, respecting the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come the apostacy first; and that Man of Sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God. Remember ye not that I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work. Only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that lawless one be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming:—even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders; and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie: that they all might be condemned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness."

² This Lecture was preached Jan. 1851, shortly after Cardinal Wiseman's publication of the Pope's Bull, and return from Rome to England, in the character of the Pope's Legate.

and minds of all loyal Englishmen. And let me urge on you to consider it not merely, or chiefly, on the limited scale that most now do, with reference to this present time, and to the insulted rights and honor of our beloved earthly sovereign; however reasonable and proper such view of it may be. But, yet more, let the aggression of Popery on the honor of our divine and heavenly Master be the object of our indignation. Surely we ought to have imprest on our minds a sense of the greater crime and injury by the smaller. What an aggression was there on each and every one of the Lord Jesus Christ's royal rights and prerogatives, in the establishment of the Man of Sin, the Papal Antichrist, in the professing Church! What a setting aside of him in his saving offices! What an interception of the flow of men's affections towards him; and so a wounding of Him in the tenderest sensibilities of the heart!—God grant, dear Brethren, that, as one result of our investigations on the subject of this prophecy of St. Paul, it may henceforth be more than ever our care, alike in respect of the direct apostacy of the Romish Antichrist, and in respect of every thing antichristian in spirit, even though enforced on us by profest but dishonest members of our own Church, to hold fast the loyalty of the soul to our heavenly Sovereign; and, whatever others may do, to shew ourselves in heart, and in life, on the side of the Lord CHRIST, and against ANTICHRIST.

THIRD TRIAD OF LECTURES.

RISE, REIGN, AND CHURCH OF ANTICHRIST,
AS APOCALYPTICALLY PREDICTED,
AND AS FULFILLED.

LECTURE I.

PRELIMINARY EVENTS IN ROMISH HISTORY TO
ANTICHRIST'S MANIFESTATION.

APOCALYPSE IV. 1.

"AFTER THIS I LOOKED, AND, BEHOLD, A DOOR WAS OPENED IN HEAVEN: AND THE VOICE WHICH I HAD FIRST HEARD SAID, COME UP HITHER, AND I WILL SHEW THEE THINGS WHICH MUST BE HEREAFTER."

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As a traveller, in advancing on his road, finds the objects which he had before seen collectively, and in the mass, open gradually more and more to his view in detail, so do we find it also in the successive revelations of prophecy: and in the latter case, as well as former, not without evidence of the consistency of truth in the unfolding. So it was, we saw,¹ in regard of the prophecies respecting the *Messiah*, or *Christ*: which, from the fundamental primary prediction of the seed of the woman, expanded more and more, as time went on, into particulars respecting the time

¹ See Lect. ii. of my first Triad, from p. 38.

and place of the coming of the promised Redeemer, his country and family, his character and history. And so too we also find it in regard of the prophecies respecting *Antichrist*, which are now the subject of consideration. Already before the Messiah's first coming it had been revealed to *Daniel*, looking forward to a yet distant futurity, that the 4th great kingdom of this world, antagonistic to God's kingdom, (i. e. we know, the Roman,) after existing undividedly in strength so far unequalled, would then at length be divided into ten; and a new power, like a *little horn* rising up among the ten larger horns, have supremacy over the rest, and constitute the last of the dominant empires of this world; the kingdom of Messiah being destined to supervene upon it, and to destroy it. From what source however the little horn was to derive strength, so as to lord it among the larger horns, was not then declared to *Daniel*:¹ though perhaps afterwards hinted at obscurely as connected with some *apostacy from the true faith*, in the revelation subsequently made to him respecting the *self-deifying king* of the latter times, the counterpart apparently of the little horn.² But to *St.*

¹ Unless inferable from its "having eyes as the eyes of a man," like an *επισκοπος*, or bishop.

² The *self-deifying king* of Dan. xi. 36 seems to be identified with the *little horn* of Dan. vii. by his apparent connexion with the people from the isles of Chittim, i. e. the Roman people,—his supremacy in power, so as to do according to his will,—his magnifying himself against the God of gods,—and his prospering "till the indignation be accomplished," that is, until the consummation.

His rise is spoken of as sequent on the event of "many cleaving by flatteries, and deceitfully, to them that would know their God:

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Paul, some 600 years later, and subsequently to Messiah's first coming, this additional fact was revealed fully and distinctly. It was then unfolded to the disciples that, out of principles of evil even then darkly working *within the Christian body*, an *apostacy* would at length result from the true Christian faith; and that this, when matured, would be headed by *the Man of Sin*, a person and power identical evidently with the self-deifying king and little horn of Daniel:—that his incoming, to take the supremacy, (as might be expected of one raised to power through a religious apostacy,) would be with lying wonders or miracles, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness; and his reign that of one sitting enthroned in God's temple, or Christ's professing Church, and there exhibiting himself, and receiving worship, as God. All this it was my object to illustrate in the three Lectures of the last season; and to show its fulfilment in the history of the Romish apostacy, and its headship at length by the Pope of Rome. As to the *time*, however, when this great predicted antichristian power was to appear, and *the secular events and changes in the Roman empire* that were to intervene previously, scarce anything new was revealed to St.

i. e. sequent on an apostacy from the true faith of God; or if (as I think) the incarnate God, Christ Jesus, be here meant by God, an apostacy from the faith of Christ. See my comment on Dan. xi. 32—39, in the H. A. Vol. iv. pp. 86—95.

The identity of St. Paul's *man of sin* with the *self-deifying king* of Dan. xi, as well as with the *little horn* of Dan. vii, is very evident; and confirms what has been before said of the identity of the *little horn* and *self-deifying king*, one with the other.

Paul, in addition to what had been originally revealed to Daniel: it having been told to Daniel that the Roman empire must be divided by some great revolution into ten, prior to the *little horn's* establishment in power; and to St. Paul this only, that so long as there was a continuance of the undivided empire, attached, when he address the Thessalonians, to the Roman emperor, so long it would constitute an effective let, or hindrance, to the Man of Sin's manifestation. Nor again was there revealed to St. Paul, any more than to Daniel, particulars as to the *instrumentalities* that the Antichrist would use, in order to the fuller exercise of his power; or, in regard of *the Church of the apostacy* with which he was to have association, what would be its precise seat, form, or character.—To the beloved disciple *John*, however, some 30 years after St. Paul's death, details singularly particular were unfolded in the revelations of Patmos, on each of the three above-mentioned subjects. And it seems to me my duty accordingly to call your attention to them in the Lectures of the present season.—Let me add that there will appear further, as we consider the Apocalyptic prophecies on these points, certain interwoven counter-notice of the deepest interest concerning *Christ's witnesses*, and *Christ's true Church*, that will naturally claim our consideration in the season following: the last-mentioned subject bringing us down to the final predicted destruction of Antichrist and his Antichristian Church; and final manifestation in glory and triumph of Christ

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and his true Church, the Lamb's bride, the New Jerusalem. Which done we shall have traced the great revealed purposes of God respecting Christ's real Church, and its Antichristian counterpart, to their completion. And so the scheme that I have sketched out to myself for these Lectures will be brought to its natural conclusion.

My brethren, it is said of the Apocalypse, "Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear, the words of this prophecy." May some portion of this blessing attend us in our Apocalyptic meditations! Doubtless there is in that saying a reference, not to the bare predictions of future events which the book contains, but also to the glorious views intermixt therewith of God, and Christ, and heaven; to its revelations concerning the divine Providence as overseeing and overruling all things for the good of his people; and its many heart-stirring precepts, warnings, and monitions. But these will not be altogether overlooked in our consideration of the prophecy. And even as regards its prophetic figurations of the future, such as will chiefly claim our time and attention, some part of the blessing ought not to be wanting to the consideration of them. If, as I expect, the Apocalyptic predictions on the several points referred to shall be shown to have received a most striking and even minute fulfilment in historic fact, then surely the result in each candid mind that considers this must be a confirmed conviction of the divine inspiration of the Book containing them; and so of the truth of the

Christian religion, on which it was written to instruct us. And this indeed is the express and declared object of the foundation of our Lecture by Bishop Warburton:—"To prove the truth of revealed religion by the fulfilment of prophecies in the Old and New Testaments respecting the Christian Church, and of those too very specially respecting the Church of Rome."

I am of course well aware of the prejudice which may naturally exist in some minds against the pulpit discussion of a prophecy to which so many various interpretations have been, and still are, attached: and the rather, because these differences of interpretation affect not the mere details, but the very substance and essence of the prophecy. For the *Præterist* schools affirm that it was all fulfilled in the first, or at any rate in the five first, centuries;¹ the *Futurists* that its fulfilment is even yet wholly future:² while those of the *continuously historical* school (to which class of expositors I unhesitatingly attach myself) regard it as an orderly and very particular prophecy of the chief events and changes which were to happen

¹ The most widely spread *German* school of Apocalyptic interpretation explains the prophecy with reference to the times of Nero and Vespasian, and the overthrow of Jerusalem by Titus.—The school of *Bossuet* explains it with reference to the times of the overthrow of Heathenism in the Roman empire, and its invasion and disruption by the Goths.

The Jesuit Alcasar appears to have been the father of the *Præterist* schools of Apocalyptic interpretation.

² So Drs. Maitland and Todd, Mr. Burgh, the Plymouth Brethren, and very lately Mr. Molyneux.—The Jesuit Ribera appears to have been the father of the *futurist* schools of Apocalyptic interpretation.

in the world, or in the Church, from St. John's time down to the consummation. But prejudice, natural as it may seem amidst such fundamental diversity of opinion on the subject, will not, I feel persuaded, be permitted in an audience like this to bar the ear against the attentive consideration of such coincidences between prediction and fact as, on the last-mentioned principle of interpretation, I may have to adduce.—Nor indeed are there wanting certain obvious *à priori* reasons in favour of the general truth of the continuously-historical principle of interpretation, and against that of both Præterism and Futurism, that need but to be stated, in order to conciliate to the former a yet more favourable hearing. For the very basis of both Præterist and Futurist schemes rests on *the literal application to literal Israelites* of the Israelitish appellative and symbols which run through the Apocalyptic prophecy: whether to the Jews living at the time of Titus, or of Hadrian, so as the Præterists would have it; or to the Jews of some epoch even yet future, after their supposed regathering and reerection of a temple at Jerusalem, so as say the Futurists. But is this credible, or even possible, when *the temple* and *altar-court*, of Israelitish similitude, figured in the Apocalyptic prophecy, is there depicted as the scene of public worship to “*all the saints*,”¹ i. e. to all true Christians: and when moreover, in the introductory Epistles of Christ to the seven Churches of Asia, the *Philadelphian Gen-*

¹ Apoc. viii. 3, 4.

tile Christians are expressly designated as citizens of the New Jerusalem ; of which city the citizens are defined elsewhere in the Apocalypse as *the twelve tribes of Israel* ? ¹ Surely, if proof can be plain, then we have here plain proof that the appellative *Israel*, with its adjuncts of temple and altar, is Apocalyptically used, so as often by St. Paul, in a figurative sense designative of *Christians* : a use of the terms the more to be expected in a prophecy essentially symbolic, like that of the Apocalypse. This point once settled does of itself decide the question, as I said, against both *Præterist* and *Futurist* schemes of Apocalyptic interpretation ; against which, I must add, there exists also a superabundance of other objections, in my opinion unanswerable.²—On the other hand, may I not ask whether, *ideally* considered, a prophetic scheme involving continuous prediction of the coming future, seem not to be a scheme more reflective of the glory of God (if it can be established on satisfactory evidence) than the other two, which would make twelve eventful centuries at the least to be a prophetic blank : ³—and whether too it be not more

¹ Compare Apoc. iii. 12, xxi. 12.

² In my H. A. Vol. iv. Appendix, there will be found full critical examinations of either scheme, in every form to which names of any literary pretension had been attached, up to the time of the publication of the 4th edition of that work. I shall hope in the Appendix to the present Volume to add a notice of certain publications on one or the other scheme that have appeared subsequently.

³ On the *Futurist* scheme, the prophetic blank extends from St. John all down to the time of the consummation ; at which time the prophecy is supposed to take up the prediction of coming events.

On the Neronic or Vespasianic *Præterist* scheme the blank is from

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in accordance with the character which God has expressly given of himself, as “foretelling the end from the beginning, and from distant times the things which must come to pass;” indeed, as “doing nothing,” (i.e. evidently nothing of importance as affecting the Church,) “without revealing it to his servants the prophets?”¹ Besides which the opening declaration to St. John, when invited to the Apocalyptic visions, “Come up, and I will show thee *the things which must come to pass after the things now present*,”² would seem language strangely chosen, were the subject of the visions nothing but the events of the far far distant futurity of the consummation.—Accordingly from early times it was the opinion of eminent Christian fathers, such as Augustine, that the Apocalypse was a prophetic revelation of what was to happen from St. John’s time down to the consummation.³ And such we know to have been the general

after the destruction of Jerusalem for as long a time as the world might last; on *Bossuet’s Præterist* scheme from after the disruption of the Roman empire through the Gothic invasion.

¹ Isaiah xli. 10; Amos iii. 7.

² ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα. Apoc. iv. 1. The force of the phrase μετὰ ταῦτα is scarcely given in the reading of our version, “things which must be *hereafter*.” It implies not a *distant* hereafter; but an hereafter *commencing from the time of John’s own existence in Patmos*, and the contemporary state of the seven Asiatic Churches, described in those Epistles to them which occupy Chapters ii. and iii. of the Apocalypse.

³ “Totum hoc tempus liber iste (Apocalypsis) complectitur; à primo scilicet adventu Christi usque in sæculi finem.” C.D. xx. 8. 1.—Augustine, as might be expected, explained the 144,000 Israelites of Apoc. vii. to mean faithful Christians, as being Christ’s true Israel. On the large effect of which explanation see my remarks p. 204, *suprà*.

opinion of the fathers of the Reformed Churches both in Germany and England.¹ If of late years there have been expositors in our country who have strongly objected to the usual Protestant historic anti-papal explanation of the prophecy, and advocated, some the Præterist, some the Futurist counter-system,² the ground of their objection seems to have been mainly that false ground of insisting on certain obvious flaws of detail in certain historic explanations given by particular expositors, as if proof of the error of the very principle of Protestant historic explanation ; instead of resting rather on the many *extraordinary* demonstrated accordances between the antichristian power so prominently depicted in the prophecy, and the antichristian power actually developed in the Roman Popedom, as strong presumptive evidence in favor of the general truth of that historic principle. For, surely, further research, and fuller light, might be all that was needed, in order to a satisfactory explanation of any so far unexplained details. If I much mistake not, the result of recent investigations has been just to furnish the light, and suggest the corrections, needed ; and thus an important advance been made towards the confirmation, as well as completion, of the Protestant historic system of interpretation. This will appear, I hope, as we proceed.

And now to the APOCALYPSE itself.

¹ See the History of Apocalyptic Interpretation in the 4th Vol. of my H. A. 4th Edition.

² Mentioned above, p. 203, Notes 1 and 2.

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Before entering however on any *historic explanation* of the Apocalyptic predictions, there are two *preliminary points* on which I must needs first detain you for a few moments, as being essential in order to a clear understanding of my exposition. The subjects connected with the development and history of Antichrist, which I purpose setting before you from the Apocalypse this season,—viz. *the secular changes in the Roman empire prior to the removal of the let, and manifestation of Antichrist,—the establishment and chief instrumentalities of Antichrist's reign,—and the character and history of Antichrist's Church,—*appear in three chief successive divisions of the Apocalyptic prophecy. Moreover they were depicted to St. John very mainly in the phænomena of a varying symbolic scenery. Hence the need of premising some explanatory notice alike of the *structure and chief divisions* of the prophecy, and also of the *symbolic scenery* through which the prophecy was exprest.—In thus commencing a kind of sketch of Apocalyptic exposition, I cannot but feel strongly the difficulty which arises from the very confined limits of a few Lectures from this pulpit. I must only do what I can to make it clear; and throw myself on your indulgence.

As regards the Apocalyptic *scenery*, then, St. John thus describes how it appeared to him, after that the voice had called, “Come up, and I will shew thee the things which must happen after the time now present,” and when, in obedience to the call, he had been rapt from this our earth in the Spirit. “Behold

a throne, and One that sate thereon." This was the first and chief particular in the prophetic scenery. It was the throne of the Eternal, the source of all the Providential movements in this world ; the rainbow of mercy overcircling it ; much like that seen by Old Testament priests and prophets in the *Holy of Holies*, or *inmost sanctuary*, of the old Jewish temple. And soon mention was made afterwards of a *sanctuary*, or *holy place*, as also existent on the scene, wherein appeared the golden incense-altar ; and of an *altar-court* also, with its great brazen altar of sacrifice : all connected with the most Holy Place of God's revealed presence, just as in the same ancient temple, or tabernacle, of Israel. From perpetual notices of it, recurrent from time to time through all the subsequent parts of the prophecy, we infer that this Jewish-like temple, with these its triple divisions, remained throughout the whole series of the Apocalyptic figurations the constant standing-scene before St. John in the foreground of vision. It is quite essential, Brethren, in order to a distinct understanding of the visions, that this should ever be borne in mind by the enquirer. Not seldom their meaning arises altogether out of their local connexion with the Apocalyptic temple : and it is this which, as a fixed central scene, binds them all in one, and gives to the whole a dramatic unity. That the temple was symbolic generally of the *Christian Church* has been already noted ; and evidence of this suggested, I hope, to your satisfaction. But there is further to be remembered the

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particular significancy of each of its three divisions with corresponding divisions in the Christian Church : — what past in the *altar-court* (the scene of the old Israel's visible public worship) figuring the Church's visible public worship : what appeared in the *sanctuary*, or *holy place*, (which was accessible only to the priesthood in the olden time,) figuring the heart-worship of Christians, as seen and judged by that High Priest of our profession, who speaks of himself as walking in the midst of the golden candlesticks : while the presence of the 24 presbyters before the throne in the *inmost and holiest sanctuary* of the Apocalyptic temple, the representatives of that part of the Church of the redeemed which had finished its course and entered into the beatific presence of God, showed that that part of the Apocalyptic temple was meant to depict scenically the Church in Paradise.— So as to the sacred foreground of vision before St. John. At the same time an *earthly landscape* is alluded to continually, as outstretched beneath and around the temple ; with a firmamental heaven above it, and sun, moon, and stars from time to time apparent therein :—a provision the fittest surely that can be conceived for facilitating a distinct local foreshadowing to the apostle of what was destined to take place on the Apocalyptic earth ; and among the chief dignities and powers, in the higher regions of its polity. —Nor, as to the precise intent of the Apocalyptic *earth* was St. John left to conjecture. It was defined, ere the close of the visions, as the earth associated with

the seven-hilled city of Rome for its metropolis ; in other words, as *the Roman world*.

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Further, as regards the *structure, order, and chief divisions* of the prophecy, they were marked to a considerable extent with beautiful distinctness by the very form of the *book of futurity* which the apostle saw, when rapt from earth by the Spirit, in the hand of the enthroned One. For it was a book *written within and without*, and *sealed with seven seals*. So, first, these *Seals* had to be opened in succession ; and, as each was opened, the events written in the scroll, as thus far unfolded, to be enacted in living drama on the Apocalyptic scene. With this peculiarity however, that, on the 7th Seal's opening, seven Angels from before the throne of God had *seven trumpets* given them ; whereby, under a second septenary division, to mark the orderly revelation of the eventful subjects of that 7th Seal. Further, on the 7th Trumpet's sounding, (though not till after a most important *digression*,) *seven Vial-Angels* appeared, to pour out, under a third septenary division, the judgments of the 7th Trumpet ;—judgments reaching to the consummation.—As to the intervening *digression* its chief subject is a very particular description and history of the Antichrist and his Antichristian empire, explanatory (as the importance of the subject required) of something briefly hinted respecting him under the 6th Trumpet : and with its declared chronology, and succession of events, so correspondent with that figured under the Seals, Trumpets, and Vials, as to

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indicate a designed and complete chronological parallelism ; just, in short, as we may suppose the *outside writing* on the scroll to have been all in correspondency and parallelism with the *writing within*. It is to the historic fulfilment of the *Seals* and *four first* of the *Trumpets* that I shall have to call your attention in what remains of the present Lecture. It is the *Supplement respecting Antichrist* that will be our subject in the next Lecture : and a scene connected with the *Vials* in the Lecture next afterwards.

And now, being prepared as I trust for the investigation, let us mark how exactly the earlier series of Apocalyptic figurations, just defined, depicted the various fortunes and phases that the Roman empire was destined to pass through, in the interval from the epoch of St. John's seeing the visions in Patmos, (i. e. as Irenæus tells us, the last year of Domitian, A.D. 96,¹) to that of the completed removal of

¹ I have entered on this subject of the Apocalyptic date very fully in the H. A. Vol. i. pp. 31—46, and in Paper No. I. of the Appendix ; and there sufficiently demonstrated, I believe, the untenableness of all counter-theories, whether of a *Neronic* or *Galbaic* date, and the overwhelming evidence for the *Domitianic*.

It is well known that many German expositors of the Apocalypse, as Ewald, Henrichs, and their American and English followers, as Dr. Moses Stuart and Dr. Davidson, have strongly insisted on this early date. But even in Germany the Domitianic date has been by the most recent expositors acknowledged to be the true date ; e. g. by Züllig and Hengstenberg : and Dr. Davidson himself has at length confessed to a change of opinion in its favor. Of this last-mentioned expositor, and certain statements propounded by him on the subject, I shall have to offer some notice in the Appendix to this Volume of Lectures.

the imperial let that St. Paul spoke of, and manifestation of Antichrist. We shall find them classed Apocalyptically, in marked manner, under the same two grand divisions of events and changes that constituted, as observed by me in a previous Lecture,¹ the two great divisions of change in the corresponding period of Roman history : the one, that ending in the overthrow of the old dominant Heathenism of the Roman empire, and establishment of Christianity in its stead ; the other, that of the disruption of the now Christianized Roman empire, and extinction in Italy itself, by barbarian invaders, of the old imperial dynasty and power. The one was prefigured to St. John in the visions of the first six Seals ; the other under the first four of the Trumpets in which the contents of the 7th Seal were unfolded. I propose to consider them separately :—the former more at large, and particularly, as furnishing one of the most striking of all examples of the exactness of prophetic detail ; the latter much more in brief.

I. THE SECULAR CHANGES AND FORTUNES AWAITING THE ROMAN EMPIRE, FROM ST. JOHN'S TIME DOWN TO THE OVERTHROW OF HEATHENISM in it, and ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY.

Behold then, as *the first four Seals* were opened in succession, there were seen by St. John to ride forth successively on the Apocalyptic, or Roman

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earth,¹ four horses and horsemen : the horsemen having various powers and influences attached to them respectively, as was declared to John by the heavenly interpreter : the horses appearing in colors evidently corresponding with that influence ; and so betokening, it would seem, the condition of the subject-people under it ; the inhabitants evidently of the Apocalyptic or Roman earth. Let me observe that as the *goat* in Dan. viii. was used, we know, to symbolize the *Macedonian* people, and its fitness appeared from Macedonian legends and medals, connecting that animal with the early history of their nation, so similarly was the fitness of the *war-horse* evident to symbolize the *Roman* people ; the war-horse being sacred to Mars, their reputed father, and stamped as such on their early medals.²—What then might be the coming destinies of the Roman empire, hereby prefigured to St. John ?

First went forth “*a white horse*,” we read ; “and he that sate on it had a *bow* ; and a *crown* (the imperial *στέφανος*) was given him ; and he went forth *conquering*, and that *he should conquer*.” Was not this as if, under some new-crowned emperor, or imperial line, to which a bow might be a fitting badge, instead of the Roman empire’s wretched and disastrous state being continued, so as under the then reigning

¹ The inquirer must mark the identification on this point from Apoc. xvii. 18, which has been already noted by me in an earlier part of this Lecture, p. 210, 211.

² A subject fully discussed by me in the H. A. Vol. I. 114—118, and in Paper No. 3 of the Appendix to that Volume.

Domitian, a period of triumph and of public prosperity was destined to it, and this very near at hand?

—If so, most assuredly, as was the prophecy so was the fulfilment in history. Ere the close of the selfsame year, A.D. 96, in which John saw the visions, Domitian having been assassinated, the imperial crown was presented by the Senate to Nerva, a man of Cretic ancestry, of which country the well-known badge was a bow: and under him there began a most remarkable course of public prosperity, mixed with military triumphs, which for some eighty years continued, and increased, under his four successors Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, Aurelius;—princes all engrafted into Nerva's own line and family by successive adoptions.—In illustration of the Roman *triumphs* during this æra, I may remind you of Trajan's marvellous victories, when he went forth conquering beyond the Danube, the Euphrates, and the Tigris: and again, after Hadrian's and Antoninus' more peaceful but by no means unvictorious reigns, of Marcus Aurelius' yet more marvellous triumphs than even Trajan's, because against enemies and difficulties far more formidable: triumphs whereby the Eastern limits of the empire, which Hadrian from motives of policy had voluntarily contracted within Augustus' old boundary of the Euphrates, were again pushed back beyond the Tigris; while Trajan's vast Dacian conquests were retained and secured.—In illustration of the *happiness* of the people, let me simply cite Gibbon's well-known testimony:—"If a man were called to fix the

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period in our world's history during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would without hesitation name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession (or, as he more exactly says elsewhere, to the 4th or 5th year) of Commodus." To adopt what was successively alike Tacitus', Suetonius', and Dion Cassius' figurative language, it was the Roman empire's golden age.

But soon, according to the prophecy, (if we rightly explain it,) this golden age was to give place to one very different. "When the 2nd Seal was opened, there went forth another horse, *red*; and to him that sate thereon it was given *to take peace from the earth*, and that *they should kill one another*: and there was given unto him *a great sword*." The sword-badger was in St. John's time distinctively military: and thus a military domination seemed to be figured as next ensuing; whereof the result would be, on some large scale, *civil* bloodshed and war. And, to show how precisely Roman history answered to this, let Sismondi's testimony suffice; just premising that Commodus, by abandoning the government after a while to the chief military commanders of the Roman army, was himself, while yet living, the first author of the evil. "With Commodus' death commenced a most calamitous period; which we may characterize as the period of upstart soldiers of fortune who usurped the imperial power. It lasted 92 years, from 192 A.D. to 284. During that time thirty-two emperors, and twenty-seven pretenders to the empire,

alternately hurled each other from the throne by nearly incessant civil warfare." LECT.
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Nor did that evil afflict the empire alone. Military oppression must need introduce *civil and fiscal oppression*, to support the dominant soldiery; so rendering the public distress both darker and more universal. And such seemed the prophetic purport of the 3rd Seal's figuration. "When he opened the 3rd Seal, behold a *black horse*; and he that sate thereon had in his hand *a pair of balances*: and I heard a voice in the midst of the living creatures [those that supported the throne of the Deity in the inmost temple] saying, *A chænix of wheat for a denarius, and three chænixes of barley for a denarius*; and see that thou wrong not in regard to the oil and wine."¹—That the rider in this case was no personification of Famine (so as many expositors have supposed) is evident alike from what is said of him, and to him. For he is described as having a pair of balances in his hand; which, connected as it was with the *merchandize* of corn,² had no more surely to do with a time of scarcity than a time of plenty.³ And the price prescribed to him from the throne, of three chænixes, or above 5 lb. weight of barley, for what was in John's time the common price of a single day's

¹ Such I doubt not is the correct translation of the clause, *και το λαιον και τον οινον μη αδικησης*. So Mede, Daubuz, and in modern times Heinrichs. See my criticism on the point in the H. A. i. 159.

² Not the family distribution for eating, as in Ezek. iv. 16.

³ The baker's monument outside one of the gates of Rome has a pair of balances sculptured on it, as one of the common insignia of his trade. See H. A. i. 158, 159.

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labor, the Roman denarius, absolutely forbids the idea. Would it be famine, if we could gain by one day's labor a sufficiency of food for three days?—But the Roman *provincial civil governors* were fitly personified by the rider. For to them the emblem of the balance belonged, as the appointed administrators of justice ; a fact illustrated by Roman medals of such provincial governors, with the balance stamped on them, that are still extant. And it was to them there used to be addrest too, from time to time, whether by edict of the Senate or of any justice-loving Emperors, that voice of equity, which not Scripture alone, but even the heathen philosophy, recognized as coming from the throne of God : whereby an equitable market-price was enjoined for the provincials' tributes in kind ; and that, whether in regard of tributes of wheat or barley, wine or oil, there should be no exaction, no injustice.—Vain however, in the æra following that of the 2nd Seal, at which this vision took up the figuration of the future, (an æra pictured by the horse's color as one of national distress under the rider's evil influence,) seemed to be such monitions of equity addrest to the Roman civil governors. And vain were they in the correspondent æra of Roman history. Under the reign of Alexander Severus, A. D. 235, the last heathen Emperor of Rome that seems to have urged any strong reclamations on the fiscal officials of the empire against unjust and oppressive ministration, we find Gibbon pausing to mark the effect of an edict of Caracalla, issued shortly before, as being that, he says, which

its bearing on the decline of the empire absolutely forbade his passing over in silence:—an edict whereby, in regard alike of other taxes, and more particularly in regard of the tributes in kind of corn, wine, and oil, the fiscal burdens of the Roman world were so increased, especially as aggravated by the iniquitous ministration of the provincial governors, as in fine “to darken the Roman world with its deadly shade.” He tells moreover of Alexander Severus’ energetic but vain efforts to enforce justice on the fiscal administrators, of the exactions of the military enforcing the evil, and how he paid the penalty of his humane efforts with his life.—As to the then equitable price of wheat, it appears from approximate calculations (just agreeably with the prophecy before us) that a *denarius* of A. Severus (worth, in consequence of the then well-defined adulteration of the silver coinage, but 3d. of our money) was at that time about the fair market value of a chœnix measure, or 2lb. weight, of wheat:¹ and further, from the discovery very recently of a 2lb. standard weight of Alexander Severus, for the declared use of his *αγορανομοι*, or government market superintendants,² that that equivalent weight to the precise chœnix measure of wheat specified in the Apocalyptic prophecy was one commonly and officially in use under him.—So that even the minutest details of the Seal answer to the epoch to which I have assigned it; and answer, I may truly say, to no other.

Nor was this the only portended aggravation of

¹ See my H. A. i. 171.

² See *ibid* p. 173.

evil to the empire. "When he opened the 4th Seal, behold *a livid pale horse* : and the name of him that sate on him was *Death*; and *Hades* followed after him. And power was given him over *the four parts of the earth*, [such is Jerom's reading, and from internal evidence I doubt not the true reading, instead of *the fourth part of the earth*,¹] with *sword*, and with *famine*, and with *pestilence*, and with the *wild beasts* of the earth." A fearful prefiguration ; and which was fulfilled on the Roman earth in all its fearfulness, according to the unanimous testimony of historians, in the third quarter of the 3rd century. Listen to Gibbon. Speaking of the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus, he tells of its twenty years, from 248 to 268, as the 20 years of shame and misfortune, confusion and calamity, in which "the ruined empire seemed to approach the last and fatal moment of its dissolution." In regard of the agencies of destruction, he says first : "Every instant of time was marked, every province of the Roman world afflicted, by barbarian invaders and military tyrants:" i.e. the *sword from within*, and *sword from without*. A fearful general *famine* is also told of by him ; "the inevitable consequence," he says, "of rapine and oppression, which extirpated the produce of the present, and the hope of future harvests:" and, yet again, "a furious *plague*, or *pestilence*, which from the year 250 A. D. to the year 265 raged without interruption in every province, every city, and almost every family in the empire." And all this with de-

¹ See my H. A. i. 189.

populating effect such, that “arguing analogically,” says he, “from the case of Alexandria, where statistical tables were kept, to the other Roman cities and provinces, we might suspect that war, pestilence, and famine had consumed in a few years the moiety of the human species.”—Nor indeed did these plagues end at the epoch of their first mitigation in 265, or 268, noted by Gibbon. They continued more or less down to the year 290, or 292, about which time Diocletian completed his celebrated quadripartition of the empire : —a quadripartition begun *de facto*, observe, during the preceding times of trouble,¹ ere he established it *de jure*, in subordination to the fundamental principle of the empire’s still continued unity; and which seems to me with marked pointedness alluded to in the Apocalyptic phrase “on the four parts of the earth,” used in this 4th Seal with reference to this precise æra of Roman history.—The agreement of the then state of the Roman empire with the description in the 4th Apocalyptic Seal is noted, not by Gibbon only, but by almost every historian of eminence who has written on it. Says Niebuhr of the state of things after Diocletian’s accession : “At that epoch the empire was suffering under general distress; and its condition very much like that which followed in Europe after the cessation of the *black death* in the middle ages.” And so, similarly, Schlegel and Sismondi.—Nor should I omit to notice the two points of illustration offered respectively by two well-known

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¹ Under Zenobia, Aureolus, Posthumus, Gallienus. See H. A. i. 184.

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ancient fathers, who lived, the one at the beginning, the other at the close of the æra spoken of. The former, *Cyprian*, about A. D. 252 characterizes it, in a Treatise on the subject, as “the æra of mortality.” The latter, *Arnobius*, about A. D. 294, notices the four predicted agencies of woe,—the sword, famine, pestilence, and wild beasts,—as having been each and all in action down to the very time of his writing: and tells moreover how the heathen Romans, in bitterness of hatred were then wont to inculcate the Christians; as if, through their neglect and contempt of the heathen gods, the guilty cause of the public calamities.

And so the connexion appears between the subject of the 4th and that of the 5th or next following Seal:—“When he had opened the 5th Seal, *I saw under the altar the souls of them that had been slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held*: and they cried with a loud voice, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?” Some terrible persecution of the Christians was evidently prefigured, as following quickly after the 4th Seal’s æra of mortality: for in the great altar-court of the Apocalyptic temple, the symbolic theatre of Christian public worship, St. John’s eye could see marks of no other worship than by the act of self-martyrdom for the cause of Christ.¹—And as the prophecy, so the history. No sooner had Diocletian and his colleagues completed the restoration of the empire from its foreign

¹ Contrast the scene of Christian worship symbolized in Apoc. viii. 3; and to which I have to allude at the close of this Lecture, p. 231.

and internal enemies, and celebrated a triumph at Rome in honour of it, than an imperial edict of persecution went forth against the Christians, induced mainly by those very feelings which Arnobius, we saw, has commemorated :— a persecution so terrible and effective that Christians called the æra for ages afterwards the *æra of martyrs* : while the persecuting emperors themselves raised columns with inscriptions thus celebrating its success ; “ Diocletian and Maximian, Cæsares Augusti ; in memorial of the extension of the empire both Westward and Eastward, and of the destruction of the Christian name, as profest by men who were subverters of the Republic.”—“ How long, O Lord holy and true, dost thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth ? ” This persecution, it seemed implied in the words cited, would be but the sequel and climax of many others previous : which indeed we know was the fact.—As to God’s delay of judgment on their persecutors, it was intimated in the vision that there was to be yet another set of martyrs, (the martyrs apparently that would be slain under Antichrist,) ere that should be *fully* accomplished. An intimation this on which the final overwhelming judgments upon Papal Rome and its inhabitants, figured under the 7th Vial in Apoc. xviii and xix, furnished afterwards a fearful comment.

A *partial* answer however to their cry was soon vouchsafed. The opening vision of the 6th and next Seal depicted the whole Roman earth, together with its firmamental expanse and luminaries, as in process

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of revolution. Kings with their armies were depicted as fleeing in terror from the battle-field, and crying to the rocks to hide them (mark this point!) from the wrath of the Lamb. A mighty earthquake moreover shook the Apocalyptic earth; under which the sun became black, the moon blood-red, as in total eclipse; while the stars fell like unripe figs to the ground; and the firmament itself, wherein those luminaries had all before been shining, was rolled up like a scroll. —Now that this did not signify the last great predicted mundane revolution at Christ's second coming was evident: for in the sequel of this self-same Seal, immediately afterwards, the sky again appeared, as before, with tempests lowering on it; and the earth (still an *evil*, not a *regenerated*, earth,) with its inhabitants. —The figures in fact closely resembled those under which the overthrow of Egypt and Babylon, with their gods, by a Babylonian or Persian conqueror had been depicted long before by Isaiah and Ezekiel:¹ and the vision seemed consequently to indicate some great similar politico-religious revolution in the Roman empire, as what would follow quickly after the “æra of martyrs.” —And did not history add its unmistakeable comment and verification? You know, Brethren, full well how, after the ten years of the Diocletianic persecution, there followed instantly in Roman history the sudden and ever-memorable Constantinian revolution.

¹ Is. xiii. 9, 10, 17; Ezek. xxxii, 7, &c. So too Jeremiah's predictions of Jerusalem's overthrow by the king of Babylon, Jer. iv. 23, &c. See my H. A. i. 232—236.

You know the story of Constantine's conversion to Christianity, his adoption of the Christian cause, and adoption too of the cross, the emblem of the Crucified One; just accordantly with what was said in the prophecy respecting the Lamb, as Him whose anger was the dread of the fugitives seen fleeing by St. John on the Apocalyptic scene. You know how, before that sacred standard, the Pagan emperors were overthrown one after another in successive battle-fields; and how one and another died in agony of remorse for their impiety. You know further how the politico-religious revolution begun by Constantine was carried on by succeeding emperors; and by the great Theodosius, 70 or 80 years after its first commencement, fully and finally completed: so that of all the high dignities of Roman heathenism, and of the Roman heathen polity itself, not a vestige after that remained.—The heathen philosophers, as they contemplated the mighty change in progress, spoke of it, we read, with feelings of awe and amazement: and under figures of language very similar to those of the 6th Apocalyptic Seal. “It was a dreadful and amazing prodigy, which covered the earth with darkness, and restored the ancient dominion of chaos and black night.”¹

So have we traced the fulfilment of the figurations of the six first Apocalyptic Seals, in respect even of minute details, in those chief successive changing phases and fortunes of the Roman empire, which the most philosophic historians select for notice, in the interval

¹ Eunapius, as translated by Gibbon.

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¹ Eunapius, as translated by Gibbon.

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from St. John's time down to the great politico-religious revolution of the 4th century. This, strange as it might seem, was one essential preliminary to Antichrist.—Let me observe that there is not a point asserted by me under this Head, whether as regards historic fact or figure, which has not been scanned and tested by hostile criticism.¹ And thus tested and verified as its truth has been, I may fairly beg to submit to your consideration, Brethren, whether an accordance so continued, various, and minute between the prophecy and the history can without absurdity be ascribed to *chance*:—whether, on any principle of reason, it can be explained otherwise than by recognizing in the prophecy the foreshadowings of the future by an Omniscient and Eternal Mind:—that Mind to which the future is no future; but clear even as the present.

Illy, We are led, in following out the prophecy before us, to the consideration of A YET SECOND AND SUBSEQUENT REVOLUTION IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE; which, according to it, was destined to occur before the manifestation and establishment of Antichrist.

Of this revolution (that same, if I mistake not, which was afterwards realized in the subversion of the Western Empire by the Goths and Vandals) there was a foreshadowing to St. John, on the successive sound-

¹ I must beg to refer to the 4th and last Edition of my *Horæ Apoc.* for a full illustration and justification of what I have here stated. I shall have to add something further on the point in the Appendix to this Volume of Lectures.

ing of the four first Trumpets, under the varying symbols of overwhelming tempests.—Of these tempests, however, the first threatening occurred ere the close of the 6th Seal's vision, immediately after the figuring of the great Constantino-Theodosian revolution: and this so strikingly, and with meaning so important, and so intimately connected with my main argument, as necessarily to demand a distinct preliminary notice.

It was, as I said, immediately after the old Roman Pagan heavens, or polity, had past away like a scroll, that these tempests were first seen lowering upon the Roman earth. "I saw four angels," says John, "holding the four winds of the earth." Then forthwith, and in connexion with this threatening appearance, a cry was heard from a mighty Angel, who had the seal of the living God in hand, to the tempest-angels, "not to hurt the earth, or the sea, till he had sealed the servants of God on their foreheads." Which sealed ones, or *servants of God*, are immediately after designated as "144,000 out of all the tribes of Israel."—Who were these, we ask, and what was meant by the symbolic transaction?—It is of course obvious that, after the passing away of the old Pagan polity before the power of the Lamb, the inhabitants of the Apocalyptic or Roman world must have been supposed by him who followed out the prophetic figurations to have thereupon assumed the profession of Christianity; and consequently, in that Apocalyptic symbolic phraseology, of which we spoke before,¹ to have appeared

¹ See p. 204, *supra*.

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thenceforth on the scene under the *Israelitish* style and title. It was in fact a title assumed by the Christianized Romans of the time figured.¹ But wherefore, after the inhabitants of the Apocalyptic earth had thus become professedly Israel, this threatening of tempests, and demonstration of God's impending judgments against them? The explanation was given in the sealing vision: the point of which consists in this, (and it is a point of essential importance towards the right understanding of the whole subsequent prophecy,) that the sealed ones with God's seal, or *true* Israel of God, were proved by the Angel at this time to be but a very small election out of the *mass*; 144,000 only, out of all the tribes of the professing Israel. A prophetic indication this too notoriously realized in the mere nominal Christianity of the mass of the profest converts from Paganism in the 4th century! Witness the testimony of Eusebius, and other patristic writers of the time. So that in the very *Christianization* itself of the Roman empire a character appeared that was essentially *unchristian*.—Moreover on comparing together, point by point, the specific characteristics here prophetically predicted of God's true Israel, or election of grace out of the professing Israel, with the characteristics of the mass of Christian proselytes in the 4th century, as described in that century's historic records, we shall see, if I mistake not, that there is such a running parallelism of contrast between the two, as necessarily to mark an intended contrast in the

! See the H. A. i. 250.

Apocalyptic series of characteristics: and this with implied reprehension of the *anti-christianism*¹ of that with which they contrasted. For throughout it will be found a contrast of the thing *divine* and *spiritual* with the thing *human* and *ecclesiastical*. With an undue resting on the initiatory sacramental rite of their religion, just in similar spirit to that of the Jews under the older covenant, the new Christian converts mostly regarded the opus operatum of baptism, ministered by an earthly bishop, as conferring not merely high *conditional* privileges, but, unconditionally, an absolute title to heaven. By baptism they were constituted, as they supposed, the elect, holy, faithful. It was the baptismal mark that was the Lord's seal and mark on the forehead, the illumination of the soul, the investiture of incorruption, the token of salvation. With which feeling, very remarkably, (as we learn from Jerome, Chrysostom, and other writers of the time,) it was the then general custom of the baptized to carry a mark of the cross depicted on their foreheads: (somewhat as the Hindoos carry their mark of caste:) and this both as the Lord's mark belonging to them, and as an amulet of safety from evil.²—But in the vision before us, as I said, in contrast singularly exact, it is God's

¹ See the remarks on this point at pp. 145, 146, *supra*.

² Julian the Apostate thus notes the custom: Τοτε σαιρς προσκυνειτε ξυλον· εικονας αυτου σκιαγραφουντες εν τῳ μετωπῳ, και προ οικηματων εγγραφοντες.

Chrysostom thus:—Παντες επι μετωπου σαιρον περιφερομεν. . . ουκ ιδιωται μονον, αλλα και αυτοι τα διαδηματα περικειμενοι, επι του μετωπου υπερ τα διαδηματα αυτον βασιζουσιν In Psalm cx.

So too Jerom on Ezek. ix.

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own election of the 144,000 only, from out of the whole mass of the recently-proselyted inhabitants of the Apocalyptic earth, or new-professing Israel, who are recognized as the holy and true and faithful, the sealed ones of the Lord, the bearers of his mark on their forehead, and possessors of his amulet and phylactery of defence from evil; whether evil of the threatened tempests, or any other to which this earthly scene is subject.—“ I am Jehovah ; and my glory I will not give to another.” This characteristic of God’s feeling and acting, which I had to speak of somewhat fully in my third Lecture,¹ as arising by necessary consequence out of his very nature, must needs be in force in the times of the Christian dispensation, even as in the times before it. And he who substitutes the earthly priest’s, or minister’s, ritualistic work for the heart-work of God’s own Spirit,—that man (however blind to the fact) is in spirit anti-christian, gives Christ’s glory to another, and provokes the jealous God.—Thenceforth, all through the prophecy before us, the two contrasted lines of the 144,000 sealed Israelites, bearing God’s mark on their forehead, and of the unsealed mass who bore it not, will be found in contrast on the Apocalyptic scene. It is of the former line distinctively that the palm-bearing body may be shown to have consisted, who at this point of the drama were depicted *anticipatively* to St. John, as entering at length triumphantly into the beatific presence: just as, at the correspondent point of time in history, the

¹ See p. 80, et seq.

view of the *invisible* Church of Christ, as distinct from the Church *visible*, and its assured entrance into heaven, was imprest strongly on the mind of Augustine and others; and became indeed to many, then and afterwards, an absolute principle of safeguard from the in-coming Church errors.¹ It is the former again, distinctively and alone, that are defined at the end of the Apocalyptic book as constituting the inhabitants of the New Jerusalem.

The subject was further illustrated on the 7th Seal's opening; a Seal charged, we saw, with the actual execution of the tempest-judgments on the faithless professing Israel of the Apocalyptic or Roman world. For, on its opening, and the appearance of seven angels with trumpets, to mark under a new seven-fold division of time the fulfilment of its judgments, behold a scene of temple-worship, characteristic of the æra, was exhibited; as if yet more to explain and justify God's coming judgments. At the great brazen altar of sacrifice in the temple-court (that same which so strikingly typified the atoning sacrifice of the Lord Jesus) there appeared worshippers duly offering their prayers and incense; and this through the hands of the only mediating High Priest of the Christian system, the Covenant-Angel Christ Jesus. But it was distinc-

¹ See my Chapter on the Sealing Vision in the H. A.—In the whole history of the protests against Rome's antichristian system, the doctrine of the *invisible Church*, as *the Church of the promises*, will be found most notable. Witness the histories of Huss, Lord Cobham, &c. &c.—See too my citation from Hooker, as marking the view of the Church of England on this subject, pp. 129, 130, *supra*.

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tively and alone "the saints," or 144,000 sealed ones of God's Israel, that so appeared worshipping. The mass joined not in that act of worship. Wherefore? Had not the whole Roman world become Christian? A striking explanatory comment appears in the ecclesiastical records of the end of the 4th, and opening of the 5th century. They tell how Christ's sacrifice of atonement had been then forsaken by the great mass of professing Christians in the Roman world, for other modes of atonement and righteousness; and Christ's mediatorship and intercession for that of other mediators; viz., of departed martyrs and saints. Thus was anti-christianism indicated in regard of the *saints departed*; as well as anti-christianism with regard to the *living priesthood* on earth.

Then sounded the Trumpets awfully, in succession, before the presence of the Holy One in the Apocalyptic temple; the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th.—Of these the 1st was followed by a hailstorm, as from the north; whence the desolation of *the third part* of the Apocalyptic *earth*, it is said; or Western third in its land provinces:—a judgment fulfilled by *Alaric* the Goth. That *Western third*, I say. For out of the previous four parts of the empire, noted we saw in the 4th Seal, the two Westernmost had been early united by Constantine; and so a tripartition arisen, recognized by the Roman Senate, into Western empire, Eastern empire, and Illyricum between them:¹ (a tripartition hinted at also, we shall see, in Apoc. xii:) which

¹ See my H. A. i. 337—342, and the Paper in reply to Mr. Birks

Illyricum, at the 1st Trumpet's epoch, or end of the 4th century, had been occupied by *Alaric*, its officially-appointed but really independent governor; who thence moved down, as its fated destroyer, on Italy and the Western empire.—Next followed, on the 2nd Trumpet's sounding, the upheaving of a burning mountain into the sea, and desolation of “the third part of the *sea*,” or maritime coasts and islands of the same Western third of the Roman world: a judgment fulfilled by *Genserik*, in his desolation of Africa and the Mediterranean:—and, on the 3rd Trumpet's sounding, the blazing of a baleful sulphur-meteor, which made bitter the Western empire's great *river-lines*, and *fountains of waters*; a judgment fulfilled by *Attila*, and his desolations on the Upper Danube, Rhine valley, and Piedmontese and Lombard fountains of waters.—After which the 4th was followed by the eclipse of the third part of the *sun*, and third part of the *stars*, or chief governing luminaries of the Roman Western world: a judgment realized in the extinction of the Western emperor and empire by *Odoacer* and his Heruli.¹—Thus the Western empire was no more. The second fated revolution had been accomplished. The *let* was removed.

on the subject, No. 8, in the Appendix; in which every objection is, I believe, answered, and the point established.

My notice of this same tri-partition of the Roman world, in the exposition of Apoc. xii. 4, will be found at p. 242, in the next Lecture.

¹ “She saw her glories *star by star* expire.”

So Byron, in his *Childe Harold*, of Rome at this epoch:—like Gibbon the unconscious illustrator of Apocalyptic prediction and imagery.

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Then broke forth a solemn cry of “Woe, woe, woe, on the inhabitants of the earth ;” as if in reference to fresh and more severe impending judgments. And forthwith after that warning cry, and on the 5th Trumpet’s sounding, the *pit of the abyss* was seen *opened* on the Apocalyptic scene ; the opening of which marked in more than one way a memorable epoch in the Apocalyptic judgments. For not only did certain symbolic *scorpion-locusts* then and thence emerge, destined for the scourge apparently of the Euphratean or Eastern division of the empire, and followed by the further judgment against that same division of the Roman world, after the 6th Trumpet’s sounding, of *lion-headed horses from the Euphrates* ; —judgments realized, I doubt not, in the invasions of the Saracens and Turks. But, in the course of the events of that 6th Trumpet, a *Beast from the abyss* was spoken of as having also risen from the opened pit, with murderous mission from beneath against certain *witnesses for Christ* ; witnesses destined to prophesy in sackcloth, it was stated, throughout the whole long period of the apostacy. The identity of this Beast with Daniel’s fourth Beast under the rule of its *little horn*, as also with the empire of Paul’s *Man of Sin*, and John’s *Antichrist*, might even at this point of the prophecy have been conjectured. But the subject was far too important not to have distinct light granted respecting it. And accordingly, after the sounding of the 7th Trumpet, and general intimation of its results, a long *digression*, or *supple-*

mental course of visions (the same that I spoke of earlier in my notice of the structure of the Apocalypse)¹ LECT.
I. } occurred in the Apocalyptic prophecy : a digression occupying Chapters xii, xiii, xiv ; and of which the main object evidently was to set forth the history and character of the *Beast from the abyss*.

It is this which I propose to make the subject of my next Lecture.

¹ See p. 211, *suprà*.

LECTURE II.

THE RISE AND REIGN OF ANTICHRIST.

APOC. XII. 17—XIII. 6.

“AND THE DRAGON WAS WROTH WITH THE WOMAN; AND WENT TO MAKE WAR WITH THE REMNANT OF HER SEED, WHICH OBSERVE THE COMMANDMENTS OF GOD, AND KEEP UP THE WITNESS FOR JESUS CHRIST.¹—AND HE STOOD² UPON THE SAND OF THE SEA (OR FLOOD).³ AND I SAW A WILD BEAST RISING UP OUT OF THE FLOOD, HAVING SEVEN HEADS AND TEN HORNS; AND UPON HIS HORNS TEN DIADEMS,⁴ AND UPON HIS HEADS NAMES⁵ OF BLASPHEMY. AND THE BEAST WHICH I SAW WAS LIKE UNTO A LEOPARD, AND HIS FEET AS THE FEET OF A BEAR, AND HIS MOUTH AS THE MOUTH OF A LION: AND THE DRAGON GAVE HIM HIS POWER, AND HIS THRONE, AND GREAT AUTHORITY. AND I SAW ONE OF HIS HEADS TO HAVE BEEN WOUNDED AS IT WERE⁶ TO DEATH: AND HIS DEADLY WOUND WAS HEALED. AND ALL THE EARTH WONDERED AFTER THE BEAST. . . . AND THERE WAS GIVEN UNTO HIM A MOUTH SPEAKING GREAT THINGS AND BLASPHEMIES: AND POWER WAS GIVEN HIM TO CONTINUE⁷ FORTY AND TWO MONTHS.”

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OUR present subject is the *rise and reign* of ANTI-CHRIST, as prefigured in the Apocalypse.

¹ τῶν τηρῶντων τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐχόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

² ἐσθῆ. Such seems the best reading; instead of the received ἐσθῆν, I stood.

³ θαλάσση. See my note on the word, H. A. iii. 65.

⁴ διαδήματα.

⁵ ὀνόματα. So the best editions, instead of ὄνομα in the singular.

⁶ ὥς ἐσφαγμένην. It is important to note the effect of this word, in the perfect participle passive. In Apoc. v. 6, the same phrase is applied to the Lamb, “I saw a lamb ὥς ἐσφαγμένον,” i.e. with marks of having been slain.

⁷ ποιῆσαι rather, to act successfully.

It is from the xiith and xiiith chapters of the Apocalyptic book, you see, that my text is taken : these being the chapters in which (connectedly, at least, with the later explanatory prefigurations in chapter xvii.) the subject of Antichrist's rise and history is most fully prophesied of. And thus we are now called to penetrate into the very centre and core of the Apocalypse.—For this both the *general preliminary remarks*, and also the *historic sketch of the fulfilment of the earlier parts of the prophecy*, given in my last Lecture, will, I hope, have so far prepared you, as to prevent the indistinctness of view, and confuseness, which would necessarily arise from an absolutely abrupt entrance on this later part of the prophetic book.—In the *preliminary remarks* then made, it may be remembered, attention was specially called to the *structure and order of prophecy* :—how, as the seven-sealed scroll which contained it was written *without*, as well as *within*, opportunity was thus given for the *writing* thereon of a series of supplemental predictions, in continuous chronological parallelism with the main series : and how, in the *dramatic acting out* of the prophecy, after that the main series (a series unfolded under the triple septenary division of Seals Trumpets and Vials, the 7th Seal including the 7 Trumpets, and the 7th Trumpet the 7 Vials,) had been acted out down to the 7th Trumpet's sounding, a pause and interruption occurred suddenly to the onward course of this series of prefigurations ; whereby occasion was furnished for the acting out of

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the *supplemental* series, written *without* on the scroll : that same which is mainly constituted of the two chapters whence my text is taken ; and of which, as before observed, the grand subject is the rise and reign of the *Beast from the Abyss*, or *Antichrist*. —Further, although the *historical* sketch given in the latter half of my last Lecture, had for its proper subject to show the fulfilment only of the six first Seals, and four first of the Trumpets in which the 7th Seal unfolded itself,—those six *Seals* exhibiting the successive phases and fortunes of the Roman empire from St. John's time down to the great internal politico-religious revolution associated with the names of Constantine and Theodosius, whereby heathenism was overthrown and Christianity established in it, those four *Trumpets* the successive tempests of barbarian irruption, consequent on Theodosius' death, whereby the second great revolution was effected from without of the extinction of the Western empire,—I yet added also a hint, you may remember, on the subjects of the 5th and 6th Trumpets. As figuring woes on the *Eastern* empire, whether woes of Saracens or of Turks, they were indeed aliene from my main subject of Rome and the West. But I had thereby opportunity for illustrating the *continuity* of the prophecy down to the sounding of the 7th Trumpet, at which the supplemental visions about the Beast begin. Moreover, at the 5th Trumpet's sounding, I had occasion to observe to you how *the pit of the abyss* was then exhibited as *opened* : and, under the 6th Trum-

pet, how the so-called *Beast from the abyss*, risen thence, one might suppose, at the epoch of its opening, (as well as the East-desolating plague of scorpion-locusts, or Saracens,) had, while that Trumpet was in progress, been hinted at as having then accomplished one main object of its mission from hell; (though only indeed to be disappointed afterwards;) viz., that of slaying the two sackcloth-robed witnesses, raised up to witness for Christ during the famous prophetic period of the 1260 days, or years, of the consummated apostacy.¹—But what then the terrible Antichristian power, so hinted at as risen and in power during the 5th and 6th Trumpets; and what its history? There was need evidently of some explanation respecting it. And hence the admirable propriety and suitableness of that supplemental series of prefigurations, introduced immediately after the 7th Trumpet's sounding; of which the great subject, as we have said, was the history of the BEAST FROM THE ABYSS.

Proceed we then now, without further delay, to the consideration of this most important supplemental prophecy. Its mode of development is more generally in the form of *impersonations*, we shall see, than the former Apocalyptic prophecies. A peculiarity this arising naturally from the impersonation of the main subject prophesied of. By which latter (not to speak of other Old Testament parallels) the prophecy before us was strikingly assimilated in character to the cognate one of the four Wild Beasts in Daniel.

¹ See pp. 233, 234, *suprà*.

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In order to greater distinctness on the subject, a representation was first given to the Evangelist, of a great preliminary crisis in the history of Roman Heathendom and the Christian Church, impersonated respectively as the *Dragon*, and the *sun-clothed travelling Woman*; and certain other subsequent changes affecting the one and the other, *introductory* to the rise of the *Wild Beast from the abyss*:—all well agreeing, we shall see, with what had been otherwise, but less particularly indicated in the previous Apocalyptic prophecies respecting the same historic æra. These *introductory prefigurings* call for our consideration first; next the prefiguring of the *rise and reign of the Wild Beast from the abyss itself*. I purpose, in either case, to show the fulfilment by a rapid running historic Commentary.

I. The introductory figurations of the DRAGON and the SUN-CLOTHED TRAVAILING WOMAN.

1. Behold then, as the commencement of the new series of prophetic figurations, after an abrupt breaking off from the subjects of the 7th Trumpet, there was depicted to St. John on one part of the Apocalyptic sky a *Woman clothed with the sun*, and with a coronet of twelve stars on her head, travelling in childbirth: also in another part of the sky, a *seven-headed ten-horned Dragon*, with diadems on his heads; whose tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and cast them to the ground. The Dragon appeared in hostile attitude against the woman; and watching to devour the manchild that she was about

to bring forth. But, as it proved, in vain. For the man-child was born, and caught up, it is said, to "God's throne: with the declared destiny, after a while, of ruling the heathen (the heathen of the Apocalyptic or Roman world apparently) with a rod of iron.—Such was the figuration. What might it mean?

The explanation of the two prominent symbols, I am thankful to say, is in considerable part supplied by the Apocalypse itself. The *Woman* is there spoken of as "the mother of them that keep the commandments of God, and the witness of Jesus." She must therefore have symbolized *the faithful Catholic Church*.—Again, the *seven-headed Dragon* depicted is defined to be *the Devil*:—not indeed the Devil personally and abstractedly: (this would be absurd:¹) but the Devil as acting in, and inspiring, the heathen Roman empire. For, since the Dragon is afterwards described as transferring his earthly throne to the Beast from the abyss, and that the Beast's seven heads are explained (for one of their meanings) to symbolize the Beast's throne on *the seven hills of Rome*, the same symbolic meaning must needs have attached to the Dragon's seven heads also; and consequently the Dragon too have signified a power which then had its throne at Rome.

¹ Yet, absurd as it manifestly is to suppose the Devil *personally* and *abstractedly* to be a seven-headed ten-horned dragon, some expositors have actually written as if it were a violation of sacred truth to explain it figuratively, with reference to Roman Heathendom!

Compare the cases of Peter and Judas, Matt. xvi. 23, John vi. 70. "Judas fuit Satanas," says Hilary, "quia per illum animabatur." So too Chrysostom on the *δαίμονια* of 1 Tim. iv. 1, as meant of heretics.

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As to the *æra* figured in the vision, the indications were singularly precise. It was when the Christian Church and the Heathen power would be each and either alike in the Apocalyptic heaven, or high place of political dignity : (a strange combination, it must have seemed *à priori* :) nor this alone, but when the heathen power was confined to *one-third* of the political heaven.—The Woman's being on the point of delivery of the man-child was another indication of time most observable.—Further, the diadems (διαδηματα) on the Dragon's heads might seem to indicate that the *diadem* would be at the time figured the badge of imperial power : in place of the *laurel crown* (στέφανος); which, as in the case of the white horse's rider in the 1st Seal, was the very different badge of imperial power in the earlier times of St. John in Patmos.¹—Of the ten undiademmed horns on the Dragon I shall speak under the next head, respecting the Beast ; on which they appeared diademmed. Suffice it now to observe that their here undiademmed figuration showed that peoples were indicated, who, though existing in the Dragon's time, had then not yet attained to be kingdoms ; but would have become kingdoms on the rise of the Beast.

¹ Our Translators have not observed the distinction between the words διαδημα and στεφανος, translating each alike by the word *crown*. To a Roman's ear the distinction was vast. In my H. A. i. 127, I have cited Cicero's account of Antony's offer of the *diadem* to Julius Cæsar, *crowned*, in the forum ; and the indignation of the assembled Romans at its offer. "Sedebat in rostris collega tuus, amictus togâ purpureâ, in sellâ aureâ, *coronatus*. Ascendis : accedis ad sellam : *diadema* ostendis. Gemitus toto foro. Unde *diadema* ?" &c. It was the badge of Asiatic despotism.

Such were the prophetic indications. And now observe with what accuracy they had their fulfilment, one and all, in the crisis of the last war waged by the Roman imperial heathen power against the Christian Church:—that same, the events of which had been otherwise and more generally figured, as we lately saw,¹ in the 6th Seal of the earlier Apocalyptic series of visions.

It was in the year 313, then, that Constantine himself reigning in the Western third of the Roman empire, and Licinius in the Illyrian third, had united to issue edicts of toleration to the Christian Church; while Maximin in the Eastern third still acted the persecutor, only however to be overthrown by Licinius.² And then this was the change that occurred; and this the form, consequently, of the next and last imperial effort against Christianity. Licinius, together with Maximin's division of the empire, adopted at once somewhat of Maximin's spirit; and, making war on Constantine, was dispossessed by him of Illyricum, and limited to Maximin's *Eastern third*. Whereupon, during the next nine years, he prepared for the final conflict. And in 323,—after that the Church had been exalted by one favouring edict after another to high political station in Constantine's *two thirds* of the empire,³ and the event appeared imminent of Constantine himself

¹ See pp. 223—225 *suprà*.

² At p. 232 the same three divisions of the Roman empire are noticed, as alluded to with reference to a later æra under the Trumpets.

³ For a public act of the times, curiously illustrating this precise disproportionate division of territory, see Note 1 p. 254.

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becoming by baptism a *son of the Church*,—he moved forth at length the avowed champion of Heathenism, in deadly conflict against Constantine and Christianity: not however till after first adopting the once-hated *diadem* for his new imperial badge, as Licinian medals still extant testify.¹—But all unsuccessfully. The result of the war (accordantly with the Apocalyptic figuration) was Licinius' utter overthrow, and so of the Dragon that animated and acted in him: also Constantine's baptism; and occupation of the throne of the whole Roman world, avowedly as a Christian prince, the delegate of the Lord Jesus. And as, at the head of the Nicene Christian Council, convened shortly afterwards by his mandate, he solemnly subscribed to the dogma of the proper Divinity of Jesus Christ, his throne was fitly thenceforward to be designated in Apocalyptic phrase as "God's throne:" just after the Old Testament Scripture precedent of the thrones of David and Solomon; which, as they professed themselves to be but the Lord's delegates, were each and either entitled "the Lord's throne."²—Of course the emblem of the man-child might include, according to Scripture analogy in such cases, the line of orthodox emperors after him, as well as Constantine himself. And hence the fulfilment of the Apocalyptic prediction respecting this man-child, as destined, after a while,³ to rule the heathen with a

¹ See my Essay, No. 1, in the Appendix to Vol. iii. of the H. A.; on the epoch of the first assumption of the diadem by Roman emperors. ² 1 Chron. xxviii. 5; xxix. 23. Cited in the H. A. iii. 22.

³ Such is the force of the *μελλει ποιμινειν*, which should be carefully observed. See H. A. iii. 22.

rod of iron. For we read, that though for a short time toleration was exercised by Constantine and his Christian-professing successors on the throne towards their heathen subjects, yet soon, even under Constantine, no little intolerance succeeded: and that, ere 60 or 70 years had past, this intolerance had increased to an absolute proscription of heathenism. It was then oppressed verily by a rod of iron.—As contemporary illustrations of two of the chief Apocalyptic symbols that we have been considering, let me mention, ere passing from this part of my subject, that the famous Ambrose expressly applies to the orthodox Christian emperor, then reigning, the Apocalyptic title of “Son of the Church:”¹ and that the overthrow of the heathen emperors was spoken of by the ecclesiastical writers of the time under the Apocalyptic figure of the casting out of the Dragon, or Devil, from his high places of dominion. Indeed there are medals still extant, struck alike by Constantine and some of his Christian successors on the imperial throne, which depict the same event under the emblem of a dragon cast upon the ground, and trampled down by the labarum, or ensign of the Christian cross.²

2. But observe, it was not *immediately* after this that

¹ “Quid honorificentius quàm ut imperator *ecclesiæ filius* esse dicatur?” A very remarkable and important illustration this of a point on which there has long been much controversy. Ambrose’s illustration had been unobserved, till noticed by me in the revision of the H. A. for its 4th Edition. It occurs in the Ep. 32. *Contrà Auxent.*

² See the citations illustrative of the three last mentioned points, in my H. A. iii. 27, 28.

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the Beast from the abyss was seen to rise upon the scene, in the Apocalyptic prefigurative visions. Certain other preliminaries (preliminaries very notable) were stated as first occurring, both concerning the Dragon and the Woman : just as, in the former series of visions, much was noted as occurring after the revolution of the 6th Seal, ere the opening of the pit of the abyss.—The *Dragon*, though cast to the earth from his high position in the Apocalyptic firmament, was depicted notwithstanding as still vexing the Woman that had brought forth the man-child, or faithful Catholic Church : and she, heretofore a glorious visible object before the world, as fleeing away towards the wilderness ; (like as Israel fled in ancient days from both the persecutions and the heathen-abominations of Egypt ;) though not indeed entering into that wilderness-state of invisibility till somewhat later.—Very singularly this movement on the Woman's part towards the wilderness seemed figured as progressing even while the triumphant celebration of her victory over the Dragon was heard chanted above ;¹ —“ Now hath come the salvation, and the power, and the kingdom of our God, and of his Christ : for the accuser of our brethren hath been cast down : and they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony ; and they loved not their lives even unto death.”—After this,

¹ The first mention of the woman's flight is in Apoc. xii. 6, after the elevation of her son to God's throne : in verses 10, 11 is the Christians' *ἐπὶ νικίον*, or song of triumph : in verses 13, 14, the woman's flight towards the wilderness is noted as still in progress.

as the Woman fled still towards the wilderness, the Dragon was depicted as casting out floods from his mouth, in order if possible to drown her ; very much as the Egyptian crocodile might have been figured as drawing into his mouth, and regurgitating, a flood of water from the Nile against Israel in its flight from Egypt. But in vain ! The earth absorbed the flood ; and the Woman thus entered alive into her new wilderness-state of invisibility and dearth.—Was all this too fulfilled ?

We have but to look, Brethren, into the secular and ecclesiastical histories of the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries, in order to see its fulfilment in all particulars.

Not alone by suggestion of the heathen-like Arian heresy, and by persecution of faithful orthodox Christians, consequent on the temporary progress of Arianism,—persecutions with which Athanasius' name is so honorably associated,—did the Devil, when fallen from his supremacy in Roman Heathendom, vex the orthodox Church ; but yet more did he so through his unceasing and successful insinuation of heathen-like superstitions, into both the doctrine and worship of the professing Christian body. (The æra was that, in fact, of the Angel's sealing of but 144,000 from out of all the tribes of professing Israel, figured in the former Apocalyptic series.) And so did he succeed in hereby tarnishing and obscuring the characteristic features of the Church which had fought the battle with Paganism, that they were in the Church of a century later scarce recognizable. “ The ancient sim-

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plicity of the Church," says one historian, Mosheim, "had almost fled away:" and another, the excellent Milner; "I endeavour with difficulty now to catch the features of Christ's Church." And Gibbon, while sneeringly noting, with reference to the *Church worship* now common, that the heathen-hating Tertullian or Lactantius would, in the heathen-like worship established in Roman Christendom at the opening of the 5th century, have been at a loss to recognize the worship of that pure primitive Church for which they had so zealously apologized and contended, does but in this again add his illustration of the Apocalypse. For by what but its *avowed doctrine*, and its *public worship*, is a Church (corporately) to be distinguished? And if alike the doctrine and worship of Christ's holy primitive Church scarce remained visible, then indeed was that Church passing, as the Apocalypse depicted it, into the wilderness-state of invisibility.—Very remarkably it was martyr-worship, as we saw in our notice of Apoc. viii. 3 in the last Lecture,¹ that was perhaps the most prominent form of superstition now prevalent. And this was induced by an unbounded reverence of the departed martyrs, as if themselves the authors of the victory over Paganism, such as may seem implied in the Apocalyptic song of triumph:² a reverence natural, and indeed at first innocent, but which soon expanded into superstition.

After this, in accordance with the next prophetic symbol of a flood cast out of the Dragon's mouth, with

¹ See pp. 231, 232 *suprà*. ² This is a suggestion of the Rev. E. Biley.

the object of overwhelming the Woman, we read of that tremendous irruption of a flood of Pagan or Arian Goths and Vandals, whereby it must have seemed probable at the time that whatever profest the orthodox Christian faith would have been absolutely swept from the earth. But "the earth helped the woman, and absorbed the flood." There was an absorption of the invading barbaric flood into the old Roman population. Moreover, instead of the barbaric Paganism or Arianism, the Christian Trinitarian creed was universally adopted ere the close of the 6th century.—And, though the mere profession of the Trinitarian faith was insufficient of itself to mark a true Church, and the superstitions prevalent too much tarnished the existing Church society to allow of its identification with the Church primitive, yet was it a great help towards the preservation of Christianity.—Above all, individually, not a few of the *sons of that faithful Church* remained still on the platform of the Roman world: to testify for God's commandments, contradistinctively to man's tradition and commandments, as the only rule of practice; and for Jesus Christ as the only atonement and mediator, contradistinctively to other mediators such as the deified martyrs and saints. Against these then, as the Apocalyptic prophecy next proceeded to indicate, the Dragon's wrath was thenceforth concentrated. While they remained, his revenge and victory were complete. They were the same witnesses for Christ evidently as those symbolized in the former series of visions by the two mystic

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sackcloth-robed witnesses, of the xith Apocalyptic chapter. And, in order to crush them, each and every one, he had his own plan before him :—a plan that seemed likely to be more successful, in the new state of things, than that of direct *heathen* persecution; and to which (strange as it might seem) the very establishment of the Trinitarian faith would essentially subserve. It was by the instrumentality of *Anti-Christianism* :—a religious system professedly Christian, but in which Christ's offices and prerogatives would be transferred to a *creature usurper* ; and which would be espoused and exalted to power by the new and strange empire of the BEAST FROM THE ABYSS, under its heading ANTICHRIST.

And so we come to the *second* main Head of our subject, as prefigured in this part of the Apocalyptic prophecy ; viz :—

IIIly, THE RISE AND REIGN OF THE BEAST FROM THE ABYSS.

1st, *Its rise*, and *constituency*. at its rise.

Behold then out of the *sea*, as in Daniel's earlier vision of the four Beasts,¹ or perhaps out of that *flood* from out of the Dragon's mouth, which, on its absorption by the earth, may be supposed to have subsided into a confined *lake* on the scene of vision,²

¹ Dan. vii. 3 ; " Four great Beasts came up from out of the *sea*." Compare ver. 17 ; " These are four kings which shall arise out of the *earth*." So the *sea* must be emblematic.

² Compare what is said of the Woman allied to the Beast, in Apoc. xvii. 1, " the Harlot sitting on the many waters." Which waters are explained, in ver. 15, to signify " peoples, and nations,

there rose up before St. John a *Wild-Beast*, seven-headed and ten-horned, like the Dragon : but with a certain marked peculiarity on either point. As regarded its *heads*, one of them (the 7th evidently) bore marks as if it had been previously wounded to death by a sword, though now the deadly wound was healed : the present 7th head rising out of the cicatrice of the old original 7th head, and being thus the 8th in order of succession on the Beast ; whereas the Dragon had had simply seven consecutive heads. Again, as to the *horns*, they appeared on the Beast *diademed* ; whereas on the Dragon, as we saw, they lacked the diadem badge.—On these points important explanatory information was afterwards given to St. John by the revealing Angel in Apoc. xvii ; and it is that explanation which now calls for our most careful attention.

As regards the *heads* then, it was stated by him that a double mystic significancy attached to them :—for that they symbolized alike *Rome's seven hills*, which was to be the Beast's seat or throne of empire, as it had been the Dragon's before him : ¹ and also the *various successive kings*, or *governing authorities*, which from first to last would have held the supremacy on that seven-hilled seat.²—Now, according to Tacitus's well-known summary statement, (and it is quite superfluous to vindicate its correctness,) the

and tongues.”—The identity of this Beast of Apoc. xvii with that of Apoc. xiii. has been fully established, I believe, in the H. A. Vol. iii. pp. 68—78, and Paper No. ii of the Appendix.

¹ For, as already noted p. 241, “The Dragon gave to the Beast his power, and *his throne*,” &c.

² Apoc. xvii. 9, 10.

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first six several ruling heads that had the *imperium*, or supreme executive authority, legally attached to them at Rome, were *kings, consuls, dictators, decemvirs, military tribunes, emperors*: of which the five first had past away, and the sixth bore rule when Tacitus wrote.¹ Whence the inference that these six must have been symbolized by the *first six heads* of the Beast, or Dragon: an inference confirmed by the Angel's added statement, with reference to the time when St. John saw the visions in Patmos, (a time synchronous very nearly with that of Tacitus' writing his *Annals*,) "Five heads have (now) fallen: the sixth *is*."²—Nor, as regards the intent of the Beast's *next*, or *primary seventh head*, (that same which bore appearance of having been wounded to death, but of which the deadly wound had, by the sprouting up of the new 7th head, been healed,) does it seem to me that the evidence is less clear or conclusive. The point being one of exceeding importance towards the right understanding of the mystery of the Beast, there were no less than five several indications Apocalyptically given whereby to mark it. It was that which was to be next, in order of time, to the imperial head established by Augustus:—it was to last but a short time;³ that is, as compared with the other heads before and after it:—it was to be the head in power at the time of the Dragon's war against the travailing woman;⁴ in other words, at the time

¹ See on this my H. A. iii. 103—109.

² Apoc. xvii. 10.

³ Apoc. xvii. 10.

⁴ For, as the Dragon *directly* no more appeared in power after

of the last conflict of Roman Heathenism, in imperial position, against Christianity:—it was to have the diadem as the imperial badge:¹—and its end was in some marked manner to answer to the emblem of amputation with the sword,² and so as altogether to terminate the Dragon's investiture with imperial office and supremacy.—All which indications had their fulfilment in *Diocletian's memorable modification of the old Roman imperial government*: that modification of which the fundamental principle was the bipartition and quadripartition of the Roman imperial government, territorially, under two chief and two subordinate emperors; all recognizing the Roman empire however as still one, though divided for purposes of better defence and government, and Rome as the common capital. For, 1st, this is expressly noted by Gibbon as a new form of government, in lieu of that instituted by Augustus:³ 2ly, he also notes, after Jornandes, that the *diadem* (the Asiatic diadem of pearls) was, instead of the laurel crown, the new imperial badge associated with it:⁴ 3ly, it

being cast down from the high places in the Apocalyptic firmament, as the result of his conflict with the woman, and as he soon after made over his throne and power to the Beast, whose power was altogether under the last or 8th head, it follows necessarily that the Dragon must, at the time of the conflict, have been under the 7th head.

¹ For *diadems*, as before observed, were on the Dragon's heads at the opening of the vision. Apoc. xii. 3.

² Apoc. xiii. 3.

³ Gibb. ii. 165, and Index ad ann. 303. See my H. A. iii. 113—116.

⁴ "Is (Diocletianus) gemmas vestibus calceamentisque inseruit, *diademaque* in capite." So Jornandes; who is followed in the statement by Tillemont and Gibbon.—Jornandes's work is one of

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was under this head that Roman Heathenism made its last war against Christianity; the wars of Maximin and Licinius being but the last paroxysm of that begun by Diocletian and Maximian: ¹ 4ly, its duration from the time of its first establishment by Diocletian, A.D. 286, to that of its final overthrow by Constantine, A.D. 323, was but 37 years; whereas Augustus' imperial head, next before it, had lasted some 300 years, and the Beast's 8th head, next following it, was to have a duration, as we shall see, of 1260 years: 5ly, and finally, it was cut down, together with heathenism itself, by the sword of civil law and authority: insomuch that the current language of the times, adopting the emblem of the Apocalyptic prophecy, spoke of the Christian imperial edicts, from Constantine to Theodosius, as having inflicted a deadly wound on heathenism; and in fact am-

the more authority, from the fact of its being an abridgment of the greater work of the learned *Cassiodorus*.

On the medallic evidence I have already at p. 244 referred to an elaborate essay illustrating it, in the Appendix to the 3rd Vol. of my H. A.

· ¹ In the history of the wars of Constantine and Licinius there occurs a curious circumstance; showing, 1st, that the form of government instituted by Diocletian was at that time still considered to be in force; though a different territorial division of the Roman empire from that originally made between the two Augusti had then been brought about: 2ly, as to that new territorial division, that it assigned two-thirds to the Christian Augustus Constantine, one third only to the heathen Licinius; just as depicted at the commencement of the Apocalyptic vision respecting the Dragon and the Woman. I refer to a stipulation, after Constantine had defeated Licinius in the first war between them, that Constantine should make *two Cæsars*, Licinius only *one*. "In this double proportion of honours the conqueror asserted the superiority of his arms and power." Gibbon ii. 249.

putated the heathen head, while the wounded members of the monster lay quivering in death.¹ Never thenceforth was there any more a heathen imperial head to the Roman empire.

But what then as to that *new 7th head*, apparent on the Beast as he rose upon the scene of vision, or *revived head of empire*, in lieu of the one which had been wounded to death by the sword? Does not history here present a difficulty, it may be said; seeing that the next governing head to the Roman empire was *Christian* emperors, such as Constantine or Theodosius? Not so: because the Beast's heads by their signification of Rome's seven hills as the seat of government, as well as of the successive governing heads themselves, indicated those only of the latter who had their seat of empire *at Rome*. (A point this, as to the Beast's local seat at *Rome*, which I shall more fully

¹ Of Constantine Crevier says, x. 147; "He gave to the Pagan idolatry *some mortal wounds*." And Gibbon, v. 105, 116, speaks of "the *violent and repeated strokes* given to Paganism by the orthodox princes," from Constantine to Theodosius; till "the last (anti-Pagan) edict of Theodosius inflicted a *deadly wound* on the superstition of the Pagans." So too Baronius, iv. 172; "Quo religionis affectu idololatriam sæpius, ut *percussum multis ictibus anguem*, caput rursus extollentem, penitus extinguendam curavit Theodosius."

This was what Julius Maternus, a Christian writer of the middle of the 4th century, had expressed to the reigning Christian emperor to be the wish of Christians; "*Amputanda sunt hæc, sacratissimi imperatores, penitus, atque delenda, severissimis edictorum vestrorum legibus*." And further, as to the effect of those laws; "Licet in quibusdam regionibus idololatriæ morientia palpitent membra, tamen in eo res est ut e Christianis omnibus terris pestiferum hoc malum funditus amputetur." See my H. A. iii. 118.—*Gladio sternatur*, "Let it be struck down *with the sword*," was the then language of the Roman law concerning heathenism.

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notice in my next Lecture.) And most remarkably Constantine, together with his adoption of the Christian faith, removed the seat of empire to Constantinople : nor, even after the subsequent division of the Empire into Eastern and Western, did the Western emperors ever again enthrone themselves at Rome but at Milan or Ravenna. It was not till the Gothic flood had swept once and again over Italy, and utterly desolated old Rome itself, that Rome became again a seat of empire. And then it was not as the seat of any new secular emperors, or kings ; but as the seat of its *Bishops*, or *Popes* ; who in their assumed character of successors of Peter, and so VICEGERENTS OF CHRIST upon earth, claimed universal empire. So Augustin Steuchus :—" The empire having been overthrown, unless God had raised up the *Pontificate*, Rome, resuscitated and restored by none, would have become uninhabitable. But in the Pontificate it revived as with a second birth : because all nations venerate the *Pope* not otherwise than they before obeyed the *Emperors*." And Flavio Blondus ; " The princes of the world now adore and worship as *Perpetual Dictator* the successor, not of *Cæsar*, but of *Peter* : i. e. the *Supreme Pontiff*, the substitute of the afore-mentioned *Emperor*." And so similarly Gibbon, and other moderns.¹—Thus does history, as with a finger point, mark out the *Roman Popes*, subsequently to the Gothic desolations of Rome, and their own usurpation of the prerogative and title of CHRIST'S VICAR.

¹ See my H. A. iii. 119, 120.

(itself, as the Apocalypse reports of the titles written on the Beast's heads, a name of blasphemy,) to be the 8th or last ruling head of the Apocalyptic Beast. Though professedly Christian, it was really one in character with the previous seven heathen heads.¹

Next, as to the *ten horns* on the Beast's new ruling head :—horns now *diademed* ; but which in the previous Draconic æra had appeared *undiademed*. A difference of symbol this to which the Angel's subsequent statement about them in Apoc. xvii. 12, as designating peoples which for a certain time would not have attained to the dignity of kingdoms, furnishes the best explanation. Something notable that would have been done by them ere attaining their diadems, or at least before the Beast's rise upon the mundane scene, is also there stated by the Angel ;² and will be observed on by me in my next Lecture. That which here appeared was that from the time of the Beast's rise, and throughout its reign, they would be united to its new head ; and would give their strength and power to it.³—The fulfilment of this, and indeed of what was previously figured of the horns also in Apoc. xii, will be found in the history of the *Goths*, and *other kindred barbarians*, in the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries.

Heathen themselves, and already since Aurelian's time intermixt and incorporated with the heathen Romans of the old Dacian and other adjoining pro-

¹ Such, I think, is the meaning of "one of the seven," Apoc. xvii. 11.—Else it must mean one of the seven heads seen on the Beast, though in order of succession the eighth. Compare Judg. xvii. 11, 1 Sam. xvii. 36. Sept. ² Apoc. xvii. 16. ³ Apoc. xvii. 13, xiii. 1.

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¹ Gibbon thus describes the union and alliance between Goths and Romans, resulting from Aurelian's Treaty of peace with them. "It was a lasting and beneficial treaty." The daughters of the Gothic chiefs he "gave in marriage to some of his principal officers;" and thus "gradually introduced between the two nations the closest and most endearing connexions." In the Dacian Provinces, abandoned by this Treaty to the Goths, many Romans remained, and helped to civilize them. These, and the various hordes of barbarians that united to occupy the province, "blended into one great people, which acknowledged the superior authority of the Gothic tribe." "An intercourse of commerce and language was gradually established between the opposite banks of the Danube: and, after Dacia had become an independent state, it often proved the firmest barrier of the empire against the incursions of the savages of the North." This friendship and alliance continued unbroken till their attack on Constantine, just before Licinius' last war with him, A.D. 322. Gibbon ii. 18—20, 254.

² "Licinius found fault with Constantine for having entered his territories with an army, in order to repel the invasion of the Goths." Crevier, x. 89.

³ Socrates says that "Licinius carried on intrigues with the barbarians, in order to recover his throne." Ib. 99.

that opening symbolization:—though doubtless this was chiefly *by anticipation*:¹ first in reference to the Goths' speedy closer connexion with the Roman Heathen and Arian body; and, yet more, as a mark of identification of the Dragon with the Beast his successor, whose earthly strength and power was to be derived from the adhesion to it of the horns and their new kingdoms.—So the six or seven earlier heads upon the Beast were virtually explained by the Angel to be meant *retrospectively*; and as marking the Beast's identification with the Dragon, under whom alone those heads had existence.

Now as the 5th century opened, and when the overthrow of Heathenism, and of Arianism too, had been all but completed within the empire, the Gothic hordes, heathen or Arian, burst like a flood, as had been prefigured to St. John, over the Western world: and gradually the chieftains, one after another, incorporating the inhabitants of the several great provinces with his own barbarian hordes, established in them new Romano-Gothic kingdoms. And then this curious fact occurred, just according to the prophecy. For a while, notwithstanding the success of their arms, they courted investiture in their kingdoms from the Roman emperor of the West; and, after his extinction in 476, from the Roman emperor of the East: and signified their sense of his holding a kind of suzerainty over them by stamping *his* head diademed on

¹ Under the Arian emperor Valens, in 376, the Goths, then become Arian, had been admitted into the Roman cis-Danubian province of Illyricum, as citizens of the empire.

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their coinage.¹ This is marked by medallists as the *transition æra* towards absolute sovereignty with the Romano-Gothic kings of the West.² But about A.D. 510, King Clovis the Frank, following the example of the Vandal king, and then next the kings of the Ostrogoths, Visigoths of Spain, Sueves, Burgundians, Anglo-Saxons, Bavarians, Lombards, ere the end of the 6th century cast away that badge of inferiority, and themselves *assumed the diadem*;—a fact to which coins of five or six of the number, still extant, most interestingly bear testimony.³—Meanwhile the Bishops or Popes of Rome, as already in a previous Lecture set forth in detail,⁴ had been putting forth a claim to a supremacy higher far than that of the greatest of the old Roman emperors, in the character of *Christ's Vicegerent on earth*. And in the course of the century and a half following after the Western emperor's abdication and extinction, A. D. 476, the Romano-Gothic kings of the West one after another, gave in their adhesions to the Pope's claim. Until, at the end of the 6th century, all having pronounced in its favor, and united to recognize the Pope as their spiritual head and father, he thus came to be, in his character of *Christ's Vicar*,

¹ Ου γὰρ ποτὲ ᾤοντο Γαλλίας εἶναι τῇ ἀσφαλῇ κεκτῆσθαι Φραγγοί, μὴ τοῦ αυτοκράτορος τὸ ἔργον ἐπισφραγίσαντος τοῦτο γε. So Procopius B. G. iii. 33, in a passage more fully cited by me in the H. A. iii. 132.

² I have given specimens in a plate in my H. A. *ibid.* of coins of certain Romano-Gothic kings, with the diademed Emperor's head thus graven on it.

³ See my H. A. *ibid.* and the specimens of some of the barbaric coins there given in a plate in illustration. ⁴ See pp. 173—178 *suprà*.

what the well-known legend on Papal medals calls him, "*Christianæ Reipublicæ Rex ac Pater.*"¹ Here was the Beast under his 8th Head, with the ten diademed horns attached to it.—This, I say, was at the end of the 6th century, just the time of the emperor Phocas' recognition of the Pope's universal episcopate, noted by me in a preceding Lecture;² which date must be regarded therefore as a most important commencing epoch in the history of the Papal Supremacy.

The *Beast's* rise, and *constituency at its rise*, having been thus considered, which was the 1st point under our IInd main head, we have next,

2ly, to notice its *Apocalyptically sketched character*, after thus rising in power on the scene of the Roman world; or character rather (according to the Angel's explanation) of its ruling head.³ And we shall find that, whether as regards the Beast's *pride and blasphemies*, or his *cruelty to the saints*, it had all its counterpart in the character and acts of the Popes of Rome.

First, if the Beast had "*a mouth speaking great things, and blasphemies,*" where was ever potentate of this earth to whom the characteristic might be applied in equal measure as to the Roman Popes? And this, not as in the case merely of a few of the more arrogant by natural disposition: but as in the case of all; and as the necessary corollary from their official pretensions. Invested, as they falsely claimed to be, with plenipotentiary power as CHRIST'S VICEGERENTS

¹ Bonanni i. 254.

² See p. 194.

³ Apoc. xvii. 11.

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on earth, where was earthly prince that could pretend even in *temporal* majesty to compete with the Pope? His exaltation above all other royalty he resembled to that of the sun above the moon. Indeed kings did but hold their kingdoms from him. He might give them to, or take them from, whom he would. Was it not fit that kings should kiss his feet, and hold his stirrup, as feudatories: and, if they displeased him, that he should kick their crowns from him as worthless baubles?—Yet more, as to his *spiritual* power, who could set bounds to it? With the power of the keys assigned him by Christ he opened, and who might shut; shut, and who might open? By his fulminations of wrath he could cast down the souls of men to hopeless perdition; by his indulgences, like the Lamb of God, take away the sins of the world, and deliver suffering souls of the departed from purgatory. Heaven itself, as well as earth and hades, was included within the sphere of his power. He had authority over angels to command them; and could elevate whom he pleased of the dead to the rank of deities. Yea, above all, he could out of mere bread, at his will, make Christ; and, as Christ was the Supreme God, could thus make the Supreme God himself.¹—My brethren, was there ever blasphemy

¹ I doubt not that this is the thing alluded to in the prophecy of Daniel, xi. 37, 38; "A God whom his fathers knew not he shall honour (or *glorify*) with *silver*, and *gold*, and *precious stones*." The *ostensorium* in which the consecrated wafer, or breaden God, made by the Popish priests is exhibited, and held up for worship, is required to have *rays of glory* round it, and usually "of silver, and gold, and precious stones." So Dr. Rock in his *Hierurgia*, i. 64; "It is used

like this? Talk of the blasphemies of infidels, they seem to me trifling in the comparison. Oh! let not our familiarity with the Papal claim deaden our sensibility to the mostrousness, not of its absurdity alone, but of its blasphemy and guilt.¹

A further point Apocalyptically noted of the Beast's character and acts was this;—"It was given him to *make war on Christ's saints*, and to *overcome them*." This was in fact marked as the very object with the Dragon in raising up the Beast in different form from his own;² (though one still bestial;) and giving him "his power, and throne, and great authority."—And does it need that I should prove to an audience like this that what the prophecy told of the Beast's *cruel war* against Christ's saints had fulfilment in the history of the Popes? Surely it is a fact blazoned in the European history of the middle age, and afterwards. Whether in regard of the Waldenses, or Wicliffites, or Hussites, or United Brethren, or other dissentient sectaries within the ten kingdoms, by whatever name called, neither the proved scriptural truth of their doctrine, not the proved innocency of their lives, could save them from the hostility of the Popes. The

for showing the blessed sacrament to the people, to receive their worship: and it is composed of a stem, which supports a crystal vase, *surrounded with rays of glory*."—The noun cognate to the Hebrew verb translated *honour*, is often used, as Gesenius notes, for *δοξα Κυριου*, the "glory of the Lord." This is noticed in my H. A. iv. 94. Now, if the god made be so great, what must be the god-maker?

¹ The reader will find all these points respecting the Pope's monstrous pride and self-exaltation abundantly illustrated in my H. A. iii. 158—169; with sketches of Papal medals, &c, in confirmation.

² Apoc. xii. 17. See p. 249, 250, *suprà*.

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rack, the sword, the flame, crusades so-called of armed warriors, and the yet more terrible inquisition by delegated priestly inquisitors, were all put into operation by Papal Bulls against them.¹—How this was carried out, and also the further prediction fulfilled of the Beast's *overcoming* them, as the result of the war,² will be illustrated by me in the Lectures of next season, concerning Christ's two sackcloth-robed witnesses.

3rdly, we have to note *the two chief agencies, or instrumentalities*, prefigured, as used by the Apocalyptic Beast to accomplish his ends. Did the Papal history answer also on this head? Let us see.

The *first* of the two agencies used by the Beast, and which should be very carefully considered, was a *smaller Beast*, that rose on the scene after the former, "*having horns like a lamb, but which spake as a dragon.*" This exercised all the authority of the primary Beast, but as before him, or under his supervision: and it so used its delegated power as to cause the earth's inhabitants to worship that primary one.—Now, after Christ's own explanation of similar symbolic language, "*Beware of false prophets, (i. e. of false religious teachers,) which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves,*" I do not see how we can well err in the explanation of the symbol now under consideration. It must surely signify *the body of the apostate (though professedly Christian) priesthood, under the headship of Antichrist.*—Such, indeed, has been the explana-

¹ See my H. A. iii. 172 et seq.

² Apoc. xiii. 7, xi. 7.

tion given by interpreters from early times: not by certain patristic expositors only, but by sundry of the Romish faith, from Gregory, downwards; though, of course, disagreeing with Protestants on the question of Antichrist.¹

LECT.
II.

Now, in turning from the prophecy to the thing prophesied of, it may be useful and interesting to mark how, (in manner quite different from the Roman heathen priesthood) the ministers of the Christian Church were from early times separated from the laity, and made a distinct class and order: also how from the close of the 4th century, when corruption and apostacy were advancing within it, the clergy were by laws imperial and ecclesiastical more and more subjected to the Bishops, and the Bishops of the West to the Western Patriarch, or Bishop of Rome.² Towards the close of the 6th century, Pope Gregory sought to make this their subjection more universal and complete; by requiring that every Archbishop of his Patriarchate should receive the *pallium* from her in token of investiture,³ ere exer-

¹ See my H. A. iii. 176 &c. Irenæus, who identifies this Beast with the False Prophet of Apoc. xix, calls it the armour-bearer, *ὄπασπιον*, of the former.—Primasius explains it of the *præpositi* of the Church.—Gregory I, (Lib. 33, in Job 26,) thus writes; “*Joannes priorem Bestiam, id est Antichristum, superiore descriptione narraverat: post quem hæc etiam alia Bestia de terrâ ascendisse dicitur; quia post eum multitudo prædicatorum illius ex terrenâ potestate gloriatur.*”—So also Arethas, and Rupertus. T. Aquinas too makes it *pseudo-prædicatores*, or a false priesthood. Ap. Vitranga p. 822.

² All this is fully illustrated in my H. A. iii. 177—186.

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cise of his high functions. But it was not till the 8th century that the system (very chiefly through the influence of the famous Wilfrid, or Boniface) was made practically complete. Thenceforth, besides the necessity of each Metropolitan receiving the pallium from Rome, in token of Papal sanction, the Bishops were induced to bind themselves, each and every one, by a vow of fealty and implicit obedience to the Pope, like the vassal's oath of allegiance to his suzerain.¹—From that time the Western clergy became distinguished as a clerical body, united under the Pope as their common head, in his ecclesiastical character of *Western Patriarch*:² (not, observe, in that of CHRIST'S VICAR, by which he had already become *King of kings*, and *Lord of lords* :) and, subordinately to him, with Bishops and Abbots presiding over the clerical body, parochial and monastic, like the two horns of the lambskin-covered wolf.³—Thus constituted, just as the lamb-like Beast exercised all the power of the greater Beast, subject to his supervision, so it was not the kings of the West, nor nobles of the West, to whom the Pope entrusted the exercise of his peculiar and unequalled power: (this indeed could not have been :) but distinctively his Bishops and Clergy. And to them it was delegated as plenipotentiaries; though always subject to his supervision.—First, there

¹ See H. A. iii. 186.

² "Antichristus . . . erit pseudo-Papa, caput pseudo-prophetarum." So Peter Olivi, expressing an opinion current in the 13th century.

³ Curiously enough the Roman episcopal mitre in the middle ages had *two horns* to it, whence the bishops and abbots were called *cornuti*. See my H. A. *ibid.* p. 190, with the Plate.

was to be exercised by them, in virtue of the power of the keys, the functions of *confession* and *absolution*; the duty of confessing having been enjoined on all men, on pain of being treated as heretics and put to death. By which confessing agency of the Priesthood everywhere, it will be seen how there was made possible to him, in a manner, the exercise of God's own attribute of omniscience; just as became one to whom, as being God's Vicar, it belonged rightfully that all hearts should be open, all desires known, and from him no secrets hid.—And, as the power of absolution, so too had the Romish priesthood, each and every one in his proper sphere, the power of *excommunicating* and *cursing*, to men's hopeless ruin: (whereby, though in lamb-like guise, he did indeed speak as a dragon :) the power too of *transubstantiating* the sacramental bread, and *making it God*; and power of *offering him up*, when thus created, for the living and for the dead.—Derived as was all this their matchless power, and consequent influence among deluded men, from Christ's Vicar the Pope, how could they but use it to his exaltation? The Papal Clergy, throughout the Western world, were ever the firmest supporters of the Pope's throne? ¹

But it needed the power of the *secular arm* also, in order to the due wielding of his god-like authority as VICEGERENT OF GOD upon earth. How might this be best obtained?

The *second* chief agency and instrumentality of the

¹ See on all this the H. A. iii. 191—198.

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Apocalyptic Beast was spoken of to St. John under the figure of an *Image of the Beast*; and will be found to have typified with wonderful exactness the *Papal General Councils* of the middle age.—Thus, as in the case of the British Parliament, or French National Assemblies,¹ these representative Councils were *the image* of them they represented :² i. e. in this case, of the Papal empire, professedly; though, in effect, by management, more truly of its head the Pope.—As, again, in the prefiguration it was the lamb-like Beast that was to bid the constituent peoples of the Beast's empire make this image for him, so it was the Papal priestly Legates, and Archbishops, and Bishops, and Abbots, that had the office of inviting and summoning the kings and nations of Papal Europe to send deputies representative, lay as well as clerical, to the intended Council General.—As it was the lamb-like Beast, distinctively, that had alone the power to make the image speak, so when a matter came to the vote, and a Canon or Decree to be spoken by the Council on matters of religion and faith, the lay deputies were all put aside, and the clerical members alone per-

¹ The Reform Bill, it was said, was intended to remove nominal, and establish *virtual representation*: so as (in the House of Commons) “to give not the *reflected image* of *other* interests; but the *actual impress* of the *public mind*.” So Sir J. Graham. And the Constitutionnel, in 1848, of the National Assembly; “The more the Assembly is a faithful and complete *image* of the nation, the less will violent conflicts be feared.”

² The representatives were in fact in the 6th Council expressly stated *εξικονίζειν προσωπον*, to be the *image* of those who delegated them. See H. A. iii. 205.

mitted to vote, as alone having a voice.¹—The image was to be set up as an object of worship. And the Councils General were held up by the Pope and Priesthood to the people as objects of deepest reverence; *σεπταὶ Σύνοδοι, Sacrosanctæ Generales Synodi*. They were declared the mouthpiece and voice, as much as the Scriptures themselves, of God's Holy Spirit;² and, like those holy Scriptures, to be implicitly submitted to as oracles of God:³ albeit, that their real inspiration was that by the Pope;⁴ and the dogmas chiefly insisted on by them false unscriptural dogmas, such as of the Pope's supremacy, transubstantiation, saint and image worship, purgatory, and such like.⁵—Once more, the Beast's Image was to speak death against them that worshipped it not. And so the Papal General Councils stated it in the very bulls of convocation. One main object of their assembling was for the extermination of heresies and heretics;⁶ nor was there one which did not pass new decrees, or confirm old ones, of which that was the object. So

¹ "Exclusis de more omnibus *vocem non habentibus*." Ibid. 210.

² So the *dove* was depicted in pictures as hovering over the Council; and the seal of the Council (as in the case of the Council of Trent) had sometimes a *dove* engraven on it. See H. A. iii. 215.

³ The decrees were called *χρημαίς* or, oracular voices. H. A. *ibid*.

⁴ "Erant episcopi illi conductitii plerique ut *utres*, rusticorum musicum instrumentum; quos, ut *vocem mittant*, inflare necesse est. . . . A Papâ responsa, tanquam Delphis aut Dodonâ, expectabantur. . . . Illinc nimirum Spiritus ille Sanctus, quem suis Conciliis præesse jactant, tabellarii manticis inclusus mittebatur." So wrote one of its Bishops about the Council of Trent. See the fuller citations in the H. A. iii. 213, 214.

⁵ See H. A. *ibid*. 215.

⁶ "Schismatum vero ethæresum totalem extirpationem." Ibid. 216.

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e. g. the terrible decrees of the 4th Lateran Council against the Waldenses, Albigenses, and other so-called heretics of the 13th century.—And here was manifested the vast advantage of the instrument for the Papal purpose. For, being professedly the image, or representation, of all the kingdoms of Papal Europe, and lay deputies subscribing in token thereof, as well as clerical, the lay or secular power in every nation was concluded by the Council's acts; and the secular arm consequently secured everywhere for the execution of its decrees, specially those against heretics.

4ly, and lastly, just one word respecting the Beast's name, and number of his name, 666.—The method of expressing a name mystically by the sum of the numbers of its several Greek letters, added together, was one familiar in St. John's time; and many are the illustrations to be found of it among both profane and ecclesiastical writers before and after. So, e. g. the number 888 answered to the name of *Jesus*: because the numeral force of the Greek letters in *Ιησους*, added together, make up that number.—Hence the Beast's name and number became a famous problem in early times with the fathers; and various solutions were suggested, the most manifestly inappropriate. But one is dwelt on by both Irenæus and Hippolytus as very probable, which with good reason has ever since been famous, and which seems to answer in each and every point:—I mean the name *Λατίνος*, the *Latin man*.

¹ I would beg to refer the reader for fuller details to my whole Chapter on the Image of the Beast in the H. A.

The number of this, spelt with the diphthong *et*, is 666. The objection once strongly made against this spelling with the diphthong, as inaccurate, has been by Romanists as well as Protestants, German as well as English scholars, withdrawn, and acknowledged to be invalid. It is in fact the archaic mode of spelling; always used, so far as I know, in similar numeral enigmas. Its singular applicability to the Pope, as the head of the Papal religious system, has been well shown by Dr. H. More. In the old times of Rome, though the language was called Latin, the men were called Romans. But under the Papacy there has been, as Dr. More says, a Latinizing in every thing. It was the *Latin* world, contradistinctively to the Romaic of the Eastern, or Constantinopolitan empire; the *Latin* kingdoms, *Latin* Church, *Latin* Patriarch, *Latin* Clergy, and Councils. The Papal mass, prayers, hymns, litanies, canons, decretals, bulls, are all in *Latin*.—Here too then, is a further striking confirmation of the general and long-received opinion among Protestants that the Beast is the Papal Empire, the Popes its ruling head.¹

There remains in the prophecy before us the one important point of its predicted *time of duration in power*, viz., 42 months. But I prefer reserving this to my next Lecture; in which I shall have to speak of the predicted *local seat* and *Church* of the Beast, Antichrist; to which Church's supremacy in power the same term of duration seems to belong.

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LECTURE III.

THE LOCAL SEAT AND CHURCH OF ANTICHRIST.

APOC. XVII. 3—6.

“SO HE CARRIED ME AWAY IN THE SPIRIT INTO A DESERT SCENE.¹ AND I SAW A WOMAN SITTING ON A SCARLET-COLOURED BEAST, FULL OF NAMES OF BLASPHEMY, HAVING SEVEN HEADS, AND TEN HORNS. AND THE WOMAN WAS ARRAYED IN PURPLE AND SCARLET; AND DECKED WITH GOLD AND PRECIOUS STONES AND PEARLS, HAVING A GOLDEN CUP IN HER HAND FULL OF ABOMINATIONS AND FILTHINESS OF HER FORNICATION. AND UPON HER FOREHEAD WAS A NAME WRITTEN, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH. AND I SAW THE WOMAN DRUNKEN WITH THE BLOOD OF THE SAINTS, AND WITH THE BLOOD OF THE MARTYRS OF JESUS: AND WHEN I SAW HER, I WONDERED WITH GREAT ASTONISHMENT.”

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It was on the seventh Trumpet's sounding, and ere the evolving of its issues in the seven Vials, that the supplementary vision in Apoc. xii and xiii respecting the *seven-headed Beast* was given to St. John. It was on the effusion of the seventh Vial, and after a general intimation of its destined results, that a further supplementary vision was given respecting the Beast, and a *Woman* depicted as the Beast's accomplice and paramour. Thereby ere to be completed the explanatory notices that were deemed requisite, in order to the preparation of the observer for understanding

¹ εἰς ἐρημον not εἰς τὴν ἐρημον, as in Apoc. xii. 6.

the reason of the overwhelming judgments from God, now about to fall on the one and on the other.—It is that part of the vision in Apoc. xvii which concerned the *Woman* that now specially demands our full and careful consideration. I have in the preceding Lecture had occasion briefly and partially to allude to it.

And doubtless the prophetic revelation was one of importance not to be over-estimated towards our right and clear understanding of the power meant by the Apocalyptic Beast.—Both Daniel, and St. Paul too in a manner, had seemed intimately to connect, if not to identify, the great predicted *Antichristian* empire with the *Roman empire*:—the former by figuring it as a certain new form of that empire, when the iron legs and feet of the image would be divided into the ten toes of mingled iron and clay: the latter by intimating a necessity that the then reigning Roman imperial power should be taken away, ere the empire of Antichrist could be established; just as if his empire were to supersede, and take the place of, the other.—Again, supposing Irenæus' suggestion to be correct respecting the Beast's name and number, and that it was indeed *Λατῆινος*, the *Latin man*, the inference from this would be to the same effect, and corroborative of the view before stated.—But the Roman empire was a large one: and out of the many different powers, in various and different local divisions of the territory, that might be likely to arise out of it, should it really break up, the prophecy might perhaps thus far seem applicable to any central one, wherever

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It was on the seventh Trumpet's sounding, and ere the evolving of its issues in the seven Vials, that the supplementary vision in Apoc. xii and xiii respecting the *seven-headed Beast* was given to St. John. It was on the effusion of the seventh Vial, and after a general intimation of its destined results, that a further supplementary vision was given respecting the Beast, and a *Woman* depicted as the Beast's accomplice and paramour. Thereby ere to be completed the explanatory notices that were deemed requisite, in order to the preparation of the observer for understanding

¹ *eis erημον* not *eis την erημον*, as in Apoc. xii. 6.

the reason of the overwhelming judgments from God, now about to fall on the one and on the other.—It is that part of the vision in Apoc. xvii which concerned the *Woman* that now specially demands our full and careful consideration. I have in the preceding Lecture had occasion briefly and partially to allude to it.

And doubtless the prophetic revelation was one of importance not to be over-estimated towards our right and clear understanding of the power meant by the Apocalyptic Beast.—Both Daniel, and St. Paul too in a manner, had seemed intimately to connect, if not to identify, the great predicted *Antichristian* empire with the *Roman empire*:—the former by figuring it as a certain new form of that empire, when the iron legs and feet of the image would be divided into the ten toes of mingled iron and clay: the latter by intimating a necessity that the then reigning Roman imperial power should be taken away, ere the empire of Antichrist could be established; just as if his empire were to supersede, and take the place of, the other.—Again, supposing Irenæus' suggestion to be correct respecting the Beast's name and number, and that it was indeed *Λατίνος*, the *Latin man*, the inference from this would be to the same effect, and corroborative of the view before stated.—But the Roman empire was a large one: and out of the many different powers, in various and different local divisions of the territory, that might be likely to arise out of it, should it really break up, the prophecy might perhaps thus far seem applicable to any central one, wherever

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within that territory its metropolis ;¹ if only its ruler could be shewn to answer to the Scriptural description of Antichrist.²—The prediction that the Dragon would make over not only his *power*, but *throne* too, to the Beast, seemed indeed almost necessarily to imply that *Rome* itself would be the Beast's seat of enthronization. For that throne could scarce be supposed either of the two separate and subordinate capitals, East and West, of the Dragon, or Roman heathen power, in its last phase under the Diocletianic dynasty, I mean Milan or Nicomedia.—If however the intent of the *Dragon*, and so of his *throne*, were disputed,³ and thus as to the *local seat* of Antichrist ambiguity and doubt might still seem admissible, in the supplemental prophecy now before us the capital was stated, or symbolized to be *Rome*, as plainly as language and symbol could exhibit it. A Woman was here depicted as sitting on, and supported by, the Beast, which was declared by the Angel to symbolize *the great city* which then ruled over the kings of the earth, i. e. *Rome* : and the inseparable interests, I might almost say existence, of the one and the other was indicated by this singular device, that a certain characteristic feature of the *Beast* was chosen to sig-

¹ e. g. the *Byzantine* empire, with Constantinople for its capital, so long as the Romano-Gothic powers of the West, in the 5th and 6th centuries, at all profest allegiance to it : or the *Franco-German* empire, in the early middle age, of Charlemagne and Otho.

² It is evident that the rulers, in the two cases supposed above, could in no way be made to answer to the character of Antichrist.

³ E. g. by taking the Dragon as *abstractedly* Satan ; his throne the world.

nify a characteristic attribute of the *Woman*;—the *Beast's seven heads* to signify the *Woman's local seat of the Roman seven hills*.

LECT.
III.

Hence it was thought by many of the fathers,¹ and has since been admitted by most expositors of reputation, that the Beast must needs symbolize some power seated at Rome, as its metropolis and throne. For the mystic notion of the Woman symbolizing Rome simply as itself a symbol of the *world*, though advocated of late by one or two names of high repute,² has found, I believe, and is likely to find, but little favor. Strange indeed would it be if all was intended indefinitely, where the prophecy seemed most definite; and the divinely declared *meaning* of a visible symbol in prophecy were thus meant to be itself symbolic! The grand question, as it is almost universally admitted, is to what æra of Rome's history the Apocalyptic symbol of the Woman, as seen in vision, is applicable; and whether it was meant of *Rome Heathen and Imperial*,—of *Rome Papal*,—or of *Rome as it is to be in some æra and state still future*.

Now that it cannot be *Rome Heathen and Imperial*, so as Alcasar and Bossuet, followed by sundry more recent German expositors, and a few recent English

¹ e. g. Hippolytus, Victorinus, Cyril, Jerome, Andreas, &c. See H. A. iv. 284, 293, 311, 316, 354.

² I allude more especially to the late excellent Dr. Arnold's Sermons on the Interpretation of Prophecy. In the Appendix will be found the reprint of a critique on this scheme of interpretation, originally printed in the 4th Edition of my *Horæ Apoc.* It seems to me the rather desirable to bring this again before the public, in consequence of a thesis for Dr. Ellerton's prize at Oxford this year (1854) being couched in terms which seem to favor the scheme.

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and American expositors also,¹ have asserted, is demonstrable by proof so various, consistent, and decisive, that one may well wonder that any sensible man should, after its having been once really sifted, attempt to revive it.—Independently of all argument from the fact of the Woman's essential connexion with the Beast, whose existence, *properly speaking*, began and ended with the *last* of the seven heads depicted on it in vision, that same that became extinct, not by the Beast's disruption and change into a new form of government, so as was the old Roman empire in the 5th and 6th centuries, but by God's final and utter destruction of the Beast,—independently of this, I say, the following decisive indications against the theory occur in what is told of the *Woman* herself.—1st, If Rome heathen and imperial had been meant by the Woman in vision, why should St. John have wondered with such great astonishment at seeing her drunk with the blood of the saints? Was not his own exile and suffering in Patmos an illustration of heathen Rome's hostility to Christianity and Christians? To which same effect also is the question, Why, on that hypothesis, should the name *Mystery* have been written on her forehead? For there was surely nothing of mystery in heathen Rome's pride, self-exaltation, and open antagonism to Christianity.—2ly, if Rome heathen had been symbolized by the

¹ e. g. the late Prof. Moses Stuart, and Dr. Davidson in the *Eclectic Review* and *Kitto's Encyclopædia*.—The latter however has subsequently renounced this interpretation; though for what new one does not clearly appear.

Woman, why should that title have been attached distinctively to her of “Mother of harlots and abominations of the earth:” seeing that, in point of fact, heathen Rome, though decided on retaining her own form of idolatry, did yet in no wise interfere with the idolatrous religions of the nations conquered by her; but left to the Greeks their favourite gods for worship, to the Syrians theirs, to the Egyptians theirs: yea, and even to the Jews granted the free exercise of their more orthodox worship?—3ly, if Rome heathen had been meant, does it seem likely that she would have been symbolized in the vision as holding out *a cup* in her hand? considering that there is in the Scriptural symbols a peculiar propriety, and frequent general agreement with the national types and devices of the time: and that in the multitudinous personifications of Rome imperial and heathen, on medals and other ancient monuments, there occurs no example, I believe, of such personification with a cup; but, on the contrary, agreeably with her martial character, with a spear in hand, or sword, or crown of victory.¹ Nor indeed can we discern the fitness, on this hypothesis, of depicting her as in a *desert*, considering the usual culture and populousness in heathen imperial times of the *campagna* of Rome.²—4ly, whatever the city, or community, figured by the Woman in vision, it is evident that she designated

¹ So e. g. in coins of Vespasian, of which a specimen is engraved in the 4th Vol. of the last Edition of my *Horæ*, p. 30: where she is depicted sitting helmeted, like Minerva, on seven monticles, with a sword in hand, and the Tiber river-god beside. ² See H. A. iv. 34.

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that state of it in which it would be existing down to the time of its *everlasting* destruction by God. For in the very next Chapter of the Apocalypse, that to which the one now under consideration was but introductory, the woman Babylon is described as overwhelmed by some sudden fiery everduring destruction, very much like that of Sodom and Gomorrha; and with the declared result, that the smoke of its torment was thenceforward to go up, like the smoke of a furnace, *for ever and for ever*. But Rome imperial, after having been wasted and destroyed by successive Gothic invaders, was quickly restored again, as we have seen to life and supremacy, in the new character of Rome Papal.¹—Nor indeed, 5ly, when so wasted by the Goths, was Rome a *heathen* city, but professedly *Christian*.

Thus have I shown that every chief characteristic of the Woman, as pictured in the vision, forbids the idea of *Rome Heathen*, or *Imperial*, being meant by the symbol.—As for the theory of Rome being meant in a character *professedly infidel and atheistic*, such as certain Romanistic and semi-Romanistic expositors² suggest that she *may* assume *at some time still future*, after having cast off the Papal authority, the limits of my Lecture prevent me from at present refuting it at any length.—It is obvious to remark that here too it would be strange for *Mystery* to be written on her brow, as characteristic of her at the time of her sup-

¹ I must beg to refer for a fuller refutation of this theory to the Appendix of the 4th Vol. of my *Horæ Apoc.* pp. 531—557.

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¹ See pp. 203—207.

² See pp. 144—149 *suprà*.

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What remains towards completing the demonstration, and clenching the argument which I have in hand, is to show that every characteristic of the Woman, *as seated on the Beast*, will be found to answer to the history and character of *Rome Papal*; as well as every intimation also given respecting her *previous* history, *in another form*.—For it is to be distinctly understood that the *Woman* had existence, and a history, previous to her being seated on the Beast; and that this her previous existence and history is embraced in the Angel's explanatory remarks, as well as her history and character when so seated: just as, in

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Vitringa thus pronounces his opinion against this futurist view, to the same effect as myself, p. 1002. “Quod enim ex pontificiis aliqui hic cogitent de Antichristo aliquo, doctore falso, Christianæ religionis osore, qui nondum extiterit in rerum naturâ, sed qui circâ finem seculorum revelandus sit, post regnum triennii et dimidii extitio dandus,—hypothesis est insulsa, quæ nihil habet probabile, sed inopiam tantum veræ interpretationis, et causam eorum desperatam probat.” That is, it proves the desperate case of those who will not have the Apocalyptic Babylon to mean Papal Rome, and the Apocalyptic Beast to mean the Papal Antichrist.

An opinion worthy of the consideration of all modern futurists.

reference to the *Beast*, his explanation had reference not to the 8th or revived head only, under which the *Beast*, *properly so called*, alone existed; but also to the seven preceding heads,¹ under which it had existed in its previous *draconic* period of political life.

Turning then to the Apocalyptic explanatory notices of the *Woman*, we find the Angel speaking of her, 1st, as at the time then present (the time of John seeing the vision, and of the *Beast's* sixth, or imperial head,²) preeminently the great city, and one bearing rule over the kings of the earth. Just so among *imperial* Rome's titles, well known in St. John's time, one was that of the *μεγαλοπολις*, or great city; another that of the *βασιλευσα πολις*, or reigning and royal city; as medals still extant illustrate.³—2ly, at a later epoch, but one still prior to the rise of the *Beast* in vision, the ten horns, symbolizing peoples which, when the Angel spoke, had not been invested with kingdoms, such as their diadems afterwards symbolized,⁴ were, he said, to desolate and burn the *Woman* with fire. Just so, in the 4th and 5th centuries, by Goths and other barbaric tribes of cognate origin, who already in the 1st century existed north of the Danube and Euxine, Rome imperial was in the 5th century burnt and de-

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solated ; the well known names of Alaric, Genseric, Totilas testifying to the fact :—till, as was stated in my last Lecture, it was for a while absolutely deserted by man ; and, had not some new principle of life arisen to revive it, seemed likely thenceforward to have become the habitation only of beasts.¹—3. As, from the time of the Beast's rise under its revived head, the ten horns, now diademed, appeared constituents of the Beast, being horns on its new ruling head, and all upholding the Woman as figured in the vision, so from the time of the establishment of the Roman Popes in the character of Christ's Vicegerents upon earth, at the close of the 6th century, the Romano-Gothic chiefs, now established as independent kings in the provinces of Western Europe, put aside all their former hatred to Rome while under the imperial regime : and, while reverencing the Holy Father its Bishop very much like a God on the earth, did also give similar reverence to Rome itself, as the divinely appointed seat of Christ's Vicar the Pope, the Metropolitan see of Christendom, and Mother and Mistress of all Churches.—4. As the union depicted in vision between the Woman and Beast seemed inseparable,² even like that of husband and wife, and the Beast

¹ Let me repeat what I have cited from Augustin Stenchnus at p. 256. "The empire having been overthrown, unless God had raised up the Pontificate, *Rome*, resuscitated and restored by none, would have become uninhabitable, and the most foul habitation of cattle and sheep."

Of Totilas Procopius thus writes : *εν 'Ρωμη ανθρωπων ουδενα εασας, αλλ' ερημον αυτην τοπαραπαν απολιπων.* De Bell. Goth. iii.

² See pp. 274, 275.

was accordingly figured as supporting and upholding the Woman, just agreeably with the husband's duty to the wife express in the Roman law,¹ so was it laid down in the Canon law, that the Pope, as Christ's Vicar, was to be considered husband to the universal Church, and under obligation to support and uphold it;² the Roman Church specially, as the Church Catholic's mother and representative. Moreover, in visible token of this union, it was enacted that at the consecration of each successive Pope, a marriage-ring should be solemnly put on the ring-finger of his right hand, with words declarative of this its import.³ —5. As the woman was depicted as holding out the cup of her fornication, and with it making drunk the kings and people of the earth, so was Papal Rome the constant and too successful inciter of both kings and people in Western Christendom, and elsewhere, to the idolatries and all other abominations of Popery : even members of her own communion witnessing to the truth of the fact, and to the appropriateness of the designation so applied.⁴ Moreover, very remarkably, in Papal medals it was a favorite device to represent her in the very Apocalyptic guise

¹ "Necessitas imponit marito mulieris sustentationem sufferre." Ulpian Digest.

² In Martene De Rit. ii. 90, in the prayer on a Pope's consecration, the petition offered is that, as "*ei universæ Christianitatis molem superimposuisti*," so God will strengthen him, that "*ecclesiasticæ universitatis onus dignè ferat*;" i. e. that he may worthily bear the burden of the universal Church.

³ See Martene ii. 89 : also my H. A. ii. 51, iii. 162, iv. 29.

⁴ E. g. Matthew Paris, in the 13th century, cited by Vtringa, p. 1008 : "Eodem tempore, permittente vel procurante Papâ Gre-

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of holding out the cup of her false religion: the sacramental transubstantiated elements being indicated as the contents of the cup; that which is a prime element in her system of falsehood and idolatry.¹—6. As the woman in vision appeared dressed in purple and scarlet, and decked with gold and precious stones, so, as all know, purple and scarlet are in a peculiar manner the colors appropriated to her chief dignitaries; and gold and precious stones the adornment, with magnificence incomparable, of her chief churches. —7. As the woman was depicted as drunk with the blood of the saints, and of the witnesses of Jesus, so (supposing only that dissentient sectaries of the middle and later ages, such as the Waldenses, Wicliffites, Hussites, and German, Swiss, and English Reformers after them, really answered to that character, (a subject reserved for proof to my Lectures in the next season,) then indeed did Papal Rome here answer to the Apocalyptic symbol. For she made herself drunk with *their* blood; and Papal medals themselves represent her, with the slaughter-sword in hand, rejoicing over their destruction.²—8. As the Woman was gorio, adeo invaluit *Romanæ Ecclesiæ* insatiabilis cupiditas, confundens fas nefasque, quòd, deposito rubore, *velut meretrix vulgaris et effrons*, omnibus venalis et exposita, usuram pro parvo, symoniam pro nullo inconvenienti reputavit.”

So too Petrus Olivi: saying in one place, “per Babylonem intelligit *Ecclesiam Romanam*:” in another; “Mulier stat pro Romanâ gente,” *Christian*, as well as *Pagan*: which, as having often criminally “cùm hoc mundo fornicata, vocatur *meretrix magna*.”

¹ In the 4th Vol. of my H. A. p. 30 (4th Ed.) I have given, as a specimen, a copy of the last Papal Jubilee medal, A.D. 1825.

² E. g. in the famous Papal medal struck at Rome on the destruc-

figured seated on the Beast in a marshy desert, so has the campagna of Papal Rome been ever desert since the Gothic desolations; and often with the inundations of the Tiber round it, even to the present day.

To which characteristics given of the Woman Babylon in the Chapter before us, let me add that the one or two others given elsewhere in this prophecy will be found also well to apply to *Papal Rome*.—Thus, 1st, if in another part of the Apocalyptic prophecy a triumph over the death of Christ's two witnesses was represented as taking place locally in the central place of *the great city, Babylon*, such will next season be shewn by me to have been notably the case at Papal Rome, just before the Reformation.—Again, 2ndly, with reference to a later epoch in the Woman's history, whereas she was depicted as having a vial of judgment poured out on her in the course of those vials under which were evolved the judgments of the seventh Trumpet,¹ yet so recovering from it as to appear under the 7th Vial, both in the vision before us, and in the description too of the next Apocalyptic Chapter, in all the gaudiness and pride of afresh prospering harlotry,—in like manner, under the earlier judgments of the great French revolution, (an event well answering, as will next season be shown, to the characteristics of the 7th Trumpet,) Papal Rome, with Popery itself, did so suffer as tion of the Hugonots at Paris, of which I have given a copy in my H. A. Vol. iii. 174.

¹ The 5th Vial, on the *throne* of the Beast. Also in part the 1st Vial, poured on the Beast's worshippers. More of this next season.

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to appear incapable of recovery ; and yet, since *then*, has so recovered as to have resumed all her old pretensions and boasting.—Is this a sign, as in the case of the symbolic Woman in vision, of her being now near the ending of her course, and on the eve of destruction by the terrible and everlasting judgment of God ?

This question involves the consideration of yet another point predicted of the Beast, and by probable inference of the Woman also, its paramour ; viz. *their fated term of duration in power*. A point this far too important in itself, and in regard of its applicability to the *duration in power of the Popes and Papal Rome*, to be past over hastily.

We read then respecting the Beast, in the *xviii*th Apocalyptic Chapter, that power was given to it to continue prospering for 42 *months* ; or, as the same term is elsewhere exprest, for $3\frac{1}{2}$ *times*, or 1260 *days*.—Now, on this the question that first arises is, whether the *days* thus specified were meant by the prophetic Spirit *literally*, or in a sense *mystically* and *symbolic*, for so many *years*. It is the famous *year-day* question.

And, at the outset, this surely will be admitted that it is contrary to common sense absolutely to negative the idea of *time* being exprest symbolically in Scripture prophecy, as if a thing *à priori* impossible, or at least improbable. Why should not the veil of figure be applied in Scripture prophecy to *times*, as well as to *things* ? This would best con-

sist with that partial obscurity which generally characterizes prophetic intimations:—an obscurity specially intended, we know, in the case of prophecies relative, directly or indirectly, to the epoch of the consummation:¹ at the same time that a certain definiteness was to attach to the prophetic periods; such as, conjunctively with other signs of the times, to enable a then thoughtful inquirer, the key to the figure being discovered, to conclude with reason when the event was drawing near.² And, indeed, the very propriety of scriptural figuration would seem to require, where a Beast represented an empire, that a shorter term of time said of the former should symbolize a longer term of duration in the latter.³—Which being so, and supposing a mystical meaning thus to attach to prophetic periods, such as those of the symbolic Beasts in Daniel and the Apocalypse, the famous case of Ezekiel, the symbolic man, who by 40 *days* of literal prostration on the earth symbolized Judah's 40 *years* of prostration in sin, or punishment,⁴ must surely seem to suggest at once the probable key, *a day for a year*: and this the rather, as it seems not unlikely that it is by this very principle of interpretation that Daniel's 70 weeks, or hebdomads, came to mean 490 years.⁵—I am well aware, that against the

¹ This appears from Christ's own declaration to the disciples, "It is not for you to know the times and the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power." Acts i. 7. ² See Matt. xxiv. 33.

³ I have enlarged on this *a priori* argument in my Chapter on the *year-day principle* in the H. A. Vol. iii. pp. 240—243.

⁴ Venema thinks the latter. See *ibid.* p. 246.

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probability of this idea it has of late been boldly and broadly asserted by writers of respectable name in our country, and of our Church,¹ that the year-day theory, as applied to prophetic periods, was never heard of till near Wicliff's time in the 13th or 14th century. But the assertion has proved on examination to be, as you are probably aware, as utter a mistake as was ever made by controversialist. Alike by Cyprian, Theodoret, Tichonius, Prosper, Primasius, and a continuous catena of later expositors through the whole middle age, it was a principle perpetually applied in the exposition of divine prophecy.² Let me specify but one only, *Theodoret*: who, on this year-day principle, explains Daniel's 70 weeks, though primarily, as he supposes, weeks of *days*, to mean really 70 weeks of *years*; ἡμερᾶς εκαστης εἰς ἐνιαυτον λαμβανομένης: "each *day* being taken for a *year*."³ Nor, I believe, was this year-day principle of prophetic exposition ever protested against, as a word rendered *week* is simply *shabua*; (literally a *hebdomad*;) and that wherever else in Scriptures *habua* stands by itself, the hebdomad is a hebdomad of *days*. Consequently that Daniel's 70 shabuas, construed according to the Scriptural analogy, would mean 490 *days*; and that it is only by the application of the *year-day principle* that it comes to mean 490 years.—This, it will be seen, is Theodoret's view also.

I observe that Gibbon, ii. 377, contests the Christian application of this prophecy as designating 490 *years* to the time of Messiah, by suggesting its equally probable explanation as meaning 490 *days*, or perhaps *months*. "Would not a Roman philosopher, on a Christian urging the prophecy of the 70 weeks, have replied, Quæ tandem ista auguratio est? annorum potius quàm aut mensium aut dierum?"

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² See *ibid.* 256—258.

³ The principle is recognized by learned Jewish expositors, as well as Christian. See H. A. *ibid.* 260—262.

principle unsound or unscriptural, by any Christian ecclesiastical writers, till used against the Romish Church near about the times of the Reformation.

LECT.
III.

The objections against the year-day principle being thus evidently invalid, and its application to the prophetic period of the Beast's predicted 1260 days' duration in power thus shown to be *admissible*, there seem various reasons in favor of this mystical sense being in real truth intended, and not the literal. More especially,—just as, in the case of Daniel's prophetic hebdomads, the fact of Messiah's not appearing within the 490 *days* made it probable that the period meant was one of 490 *years*,—so the fact of no power of a mere 1260 *days*' duration having appeared on the disruption of the Roman empire in the 5th century, that could with any reasonableness be supposed the predicted Antichrist, suggests immediately that the period meant may have been one of 1260 *years*.—Supposing which to be the case, if we ask whether the Papal power, which in all other respects has appeared so strikingly to answer to the predicted characteristics of the Beast Antichrist, answers in this also, we shall find the reply to be thus far distinctly in the affirmative :—viz. that from the epoch of the Pope's first establishment as Vicar of Christ on Rome's seven hills, after the disruption of the old Roman empire, and the new Romano-Gothic kings spiritually subjecting themselves to him, instead of his supremacy lasting but a shorter term of some one, two, three, or four centuries, like the previous supremacies

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of Babylon, Persia, or Greece, it has in fact lasted above 1200 years, very near the Beast's predicted period of duration in power. Moreover the coincidence a little while since hinted by me between the Beast's predicted depression and revival in power just before destruction, and the actual depression and revival of the Popes and Papal Rome since the outbreak of the great French Revolution,¹ tends, conjointly with other signs of the times,² to make it appear probable that the judgment on Popery is near at hand; and consequently that its duration in power will scarcely extend beyond the Beast's predicted period of the 1260 years.—I must not forget to add, that if any one prefer to date the rise of the Papal power to supremacy from Justinian's legislation in favor of the Papal supremacy, A. D. 529—533,³ the curious fact is patent that just 1260 years after it, A. D. 1789—1793 the French Revolution broke out, which introduced those primary temporal judgments of which I was speaking on the Papacy. These may have been meant as the dates of *primary and imperfect commencement*, and *primary and imperfect ending*, to the 1260 years.⁴ It is the decree of Phocas, and completed

¹ See pp. 285, 286 *suprà*.

² More on all this in my 3d Lecture next Season.

³ See on this my H. A. iii. 146, 274—276, iv. 609.

⁴ So to the predicted 70 years of the Babylonish captivity there was a primary and imperfect commencement, with correspondent primary and imperfect ending: also a second and complete commencement, with a corresponding second and complete ending. The one interval was from Jehoiakim's overthrow to Cyrus's decree B. C. 606 to B. C. 536; the other from the destruction of the temple under Zedekiah A. D. 588 to Darius's decree 518. See my H. A. iii. 274, 278.

adhesion of the Romano-Gothic powers of the West to the Pope, as Christ's Vicar, which followed about 75 years after Justinian's Code, A.D. 606,¹ that we suppose to have constituted the epoch of *complete commencement*. In which case the date of the *completed ending* will be just 75 years after the French Revolution, or A. D. 1866.—And it seems certainly corroborative of this view that in Daniel's last prophecy the interval of 75 years is laid down as the duration of what may be called the *time of the end* ;² a time coinciding probably with that of the 7th Apocalyptic Trumpet, and its evolution in the seven last Vials of judgment.—Other prophetic characteristics of the time of the end, more especially as regards the then state of the witness for Christ, will have to be noted by me in the Lectures of next season. And we shall find all to be corroborative of the idea of this time of the end being indeed already commenced, and the epoch of the consummation hastening on.

Very solemn is this thought ; and very solemn too the thought of the kind of ending that prophecy indicates at that time of consummation to the Papal empire and Papal Rome ! For by it is indicated not a mere destruction of the ruling potentate, or ruling religion ; but a destruction too of the very city and territory connected with them. We know that already, in past times, God has been pleased to stamp the

¹ See pp. 194, 260 *suprà* : also my H. A. iii. 147, 276—279, iv. 609. Phocas' decree is thus noted by the great Dr. Barrow, among others.

² The difference between the 1260 years and the 1335 of Dan. xii. See my H. A. iii. p. 279.

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brand of his wrath on the very *soil* that has been defiled by any remarkable manifestation of sin against him. It was so on Adam's first transgression:—"The *ground* is cursed for thy sake." It was so at the flood. It was so in the destruction of Sodom, whose salt and sulphureous lake is still the object of awe to travellers, as they visit it in solemn pilgrimage. So, similarly, is it to be in the case of the seven-hilled Babylon. The very soil is depicted as calling down God's judgment upon it. In one day it is to be desolated by some tremendous volcanic fiery catastrophe: the Beast and the False Prophet to be cast into its lake of fire; and its smoke to go up for ever and for ever.—It is indeed the Christian's assured hope that better times shall then dawn on this our earth; even times as of a new heaven and new earth. But even so the memorial of Rome's tremendous sin and judgment is to remain; and to be marked by the new earth's favored inhabitants. So, in a very remarkable passage, Isaiah tells us:—"They shall go forth, and look upon the carcases of the men that have transgressed against me: for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh." It is as if men should point to the desolate and smoking region, and say one to another, "Behold there the *grave of ANTICHRIST!*"

In conclusion, let me beg your attention to the manner in which the early error of substituting the *Church earthly and visible*, as heir to the privileges

and promises attached by Christ to his Church, for the *Church of the really faithful in heart*, prepared for, and had but its natural consummation in, the usurped supremacy in all its pride and pretensions of the *pseudo-catholic harlot-Church of Rome*. For, if to the earthly visible Church that attribute of *oneness* belonged which Christ had prayed for his people, ("that they all may be *one*,") and this oneness of the body were to be manifested by the oneness of professed *faith*, and oneness of *baptism*, then was it evidently requisite that there should be some *central earthly visible Church*, with authority to adjudge on the true faith and baptism: and, as the place itself could not speak, that its chief Church officer, or Bishop, should be invested with the authority; and thus constituted the *earthly head* of the universal Church.

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So soon as schisms and divisions began to rend the Church, which was the case on a small scale as early as the 3rd century,¹ so soon, very naturally, Christian men began to dwell with more earnestness on the earthly Church's unity, and to seek out means for ensuring it. Thus, as already in a previous Lecture noted by me,² the excellent Carthaginian Bishop Cyprian gave his views on the subject in his famous Treaty on the Unity of the Church: adduced in it the fact of the one single disciple, Peter, having been

¹ The earlier *Gnostics*, though calling themselves Christians, had not been received into the professing Christian body; and so could hardly be considered as constituting a schism.

² p. 162.

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address by Christ in the declaration "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church," in proof of a visible unity being intended to the whole earthly visible Church; but supposed that the prerogative of Peter devolved on the *whole body of the episcopate*, each bishop being in his own diocese the guardian and director of the faith. What then when differences arose on matters of faith between one and another bishop; so as, soon after, on the question of the validity of baptism by heretics between him and the bishop of Rome? ¹ It was evident that, in order to the visible unity of the whole earthly professing Christian Church, one earthly paramount authority was necessary;—one earthly visible head to the whole earthly visible Church.—Accordingly as early as the 5th century the theory of the *Roman Church* having been *Peter's Church*, and the *Roman Bishops* sole inheritors of *Peter's prerogative*, began more and more to be broached: ² which, on the disruption of the Roman empire in the 5th century, expanded, as was noticed by me in an earlier Lecture into the monstrous Papal pretension of being *Christ's Vicar on earth*.³—Of

¹ On the famous Novatian schism there was agreement between Cyprian and the bishop of Rome. But there were differences between Cyprian and sundry Gallic bishops on this head also; the excommunications of the one being counter to the excommunications of the others.

² In the Catechism of the Council of Trênt, Jerome and Basil are eagerly cited to this effect. Part I. Ch. x. § 11.—Jerome had said other things also about *Rome* and *Antichrist*, which the Council had no mind to repeat. See my H. A. iv. p. 319.

³ See pp. 173—178.

course the power of *excommunication* was a necessary accompaniment of this headship of the Church by the Roman Bishop. If to the *Roman Church* the prerogatives of *Christ's true Church* were attached, even as Christ's body, within which he resided, and *New Jerusalem*, the mother of all true believers,—a Church *holy* by reason of the holiness of its faith and inhabitation by Christ, (albeit there were in it bad as well as good, tares as well as wheat,) and *catholic*, and *one*, so that without its pale there could be no salvation,¹—then was it essential that the line of inclusion and exclusion should be authoritatively defined. And who to define it but Christ's earthly Vicegerent the Pope? The doctrine of the *visibility of the Church of the promises* was well understood by the Roman doctors to be an article of faith essential to the Papacy; and well was it inculcated by them, more especially in the Council of Trent.²

So again in recent times, after that the rude storms of the French Revolution had swept by which struck down the pride and power of the Pope, when the Spirit of deceit would afresh raise it up, there seemed to be no doctrine more effective for the purpose than that of the prescribed visible unity of the earthly Church Catholic. For, I repeat, if this visible unity were granted as an attribute of Christ's earthly Church Catholic, it followed necessarily that there must be some earthly centre of authority to it, and head.

¹ So Boniface's famous Bull, "*Unam Sanctam*." See H. A. ii. 83.

² See the Catechism of Council of Trent, *ubi supra*.

By Count De Maistre accordingly in France,¹ and by Möhler in Germany,² the point was argued out vari-

¹ Count De Maistre's book is entitled "The Pope." It was first published in France, under the Bourbons, A.D. 1816. The English Translation which I have before me is by the Romish Priest Mr. Dawson ; London, 1850.—There is really a certain pleasure in reading it, written as it is with point and precision, after the declamatory mysticism of Möhler.

² Möhler's Lectures were delivered about 1830, and were first published in Germany in 1833. A translation into English by Mr. Robertson has been lately published. He was Dean of Wurzburg, and Professor of Divinity in the University of Munich. The book is entitled "Symbolism."

As Möhler is a great authority with modern Romanists, and a special favorite with Dr. Wiseman, I must beg to give the reader a sample of his writing, on the subject referred to in my Lecture. It occurs, after laying down an extraordinary base to his argument, to this effect :—that because the Divine Word exhibited itself incarnate in the person of Christ, therefore it must be in some way or other visible and incarnate ever after ; and, as this cannot be in the person of Christ, who is in heaven. it must be in the *visible Church* which is *his body* ! He then proceeds thus :

"As in the world nothing can attain to greatness but in society, so Christ established a *community* : and his divine word, his living will, and the love emanating from him, exerted an internal binding power upon his followers : so that an inclination implanted by him in the hearts of believers corresponded to his outward institution. And thus a living, well-connected, visible association of the faithful sprang up : whereof it might be said, ' There they are : there is his Church ; his institution, wherein *He* continueth to live, his Spirit continueth to work, and the word uttered by him eternally resounds.' Thus the *visible Church*, from the point of view here taken, is the *Son of God himself*, everlastingly manifesting himself among men in a human form, perpetually renovated, and eternally young : the permanent incarnation of the same ; as, in Holy Writ, even the faithful are called *the body of Christ*. Hence it is evident that the Church, though composed of men, is yet not purely human. Nay, as in Christ the divinity and the humanity are to be clearly distinguished, though both are bound in unity, so is He, in undivided entirety, perpetuated in the Church. The Church, his permanent manifestation, is both divine and human : she is the union of both. He it is who, concealed under earthly and human forms, works in

ously, according to the different literary tastes of the countries that they respectively wrote in ; but by each with great effect.—The doctrine, so far as regarded the attribution of the true Church's prerogatives to the earthly visible Church, was speedily caught up by the Tractators of Oxford :¹ and with many of them has had, what is but indeed its legitimate consequence, a secession to the Church of Rome.²

My brethren, when *the Church* and its pretensions are thought of, be sure to consider carefully, *What Church ?* Well too will it be to remember what has been set forth on this point in earlier Lectures :—how that not only did Christ tell of the Church embracing tares as well as wheat, but also by his apostles intimated that times would come when the tares would have the dominancy,³ and the earthly Church's voice consequently be the voice of falsehood, not of truth :

the Church : and that is why she has a divine and a human part in an undivided mode ; so that the divine cannot be separated from the human, nor the human from the divine. Hence these two parts change their predicates. If the divine,—the living Christ and his Spirit,—constitute undoubtedly that which is infallible and eternally inerrable in the Church, so also the human is infallible and inerrable in the same way, because the divine without the human has no existence for us. Yet the human is not inerrable in itself ; but only as the organ, and as the manifestation of the divine. Hence we are enabled to conceive how so great, important, and mysterious a charge could have been entrusted to men.—On this account the Church, in the Catholic point of view, can as little fail in the pure preservation of the word, as in any other part of her task. She is infallible : she *must* be infallible.”

¹ See the Preface and Table of Contents to the Tracts.

² E. g. Dr. Manning. See his Archidiaconal Charge on the Unity of the Church ; the views in which naturally led him to Rome.—As I am passing this Lecture through the press poor Archdeacon Wilberforce offers another example.

³ See p. 104, et seq.

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—how that an earthly Antichrist would sit, the usurper of his place, in his temple, the professing Church; and that, during the 1260 years' reign of Antichrist, there would be no longer visible on earth a faithful Catholic Church; (the invisibility of the wilderness symbolizing her place of sojourn; ¹) though the Church of the 144,000 elect true-hearted Christians, known to God, but not to man, would still as ever continue in existence: ²—how that the harlot Church of Rome would meanwhile usurp her place before men, with infinite pride, and infinite abominations; and, as regards Christ's cause and truth, it would only be a remnant of the children of the once faithful Catholic Church that would keep up the witness for him;—*fragmentary isolated Churches, and individuals*.—Of whom, and of their witnessing, I shall have to speak in my Lectures of the next season.

¹ Apoc. xii. 6, 14. See pp. 246—248 *suprà*.

² Apoc. vii. See pp. 230, 231 *suprà*.

FOURTH TRIAD OF LECTURES.

THE WITNESSING FOR CHRIST IN SACKCLOTH, DURING ANTICHRIST'S REIGN, AS APOCALYPTICALLY PREDICTED, AND AS FULFILLED.

LECTURE I.

THE WITNESSING IN SACKCLOTH BEGUN ; THE APOCALYPTIC TEMPLE-COURT HEATHENIZED.

APOCALYPSE XI. 3, 4.

"AND I WILL GIVE POWER UNTO MY TWO WITNESSES ; AND THEY SHALL PROPHECY 1260 DAYS, CLOTHED IN SACKCLOTH."

OUR subject last season was the Apocalyptic prefigurations concerning *the rise and reign of the Papal Antichrist, and the false Church united with him.* This was to be on the platform of the same Roman world, within the borders of which *Messiah's Church* had been first founded : a Church mainly from the Gentiles ; so as predicted by Isaiah, and others too of the Old Testament prophets.—For a while, as we saw long since, this Messianic Church, or Christian community, faithful in doctrine, pure in worship, and united every where, though every where scattered, in common fellowship, shone like a light before the world : and with influence constantly increasing,

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as well through the superior moral excellence of its members generally, as by the godlike sublimity and evident truth of its doctrines, had advanced continually on the reigning Heathenism in the Roman empire ; till, like Dagon before the ark, that Heathenism fell before it.—But, meanwhile, as foreshown by St. Paul, corruption had been insidiously at work within it ; and, on the Christian body's worldly success and exaltation, received a sudden and rapid development. Quickly, more and more, both its doctrine and worship lost their ancient purity, and assumed, more and more, an anti-christian character : till, though the name of the Christian Church Catholic still remained to the community, the spirit of that Church had fled. The Apocalyptic prefiguration was fulfilled, which depicted the sun-clothed Woman, the symbol of the primitive Church Catholic, as fleeing gradually out of sight into the desert ; there, or in that state of invisibility, to remain for the fated 1260 years' period : while, in its stead, the corrupted professing visible Church, still continually becoming more anti-christian in character, seemed but to wait for Antichrist to occupy and head it.—And he came, and occupied, and headed it, as we saw in our last Lecture. It was the PAPAL ANTICHRIST, with *Rome's apostate pseudo-catholic Church* for his paramour :—all precisely as prefigured also in God's wonderful prophecies by St. Paul and by St. John.

But was Christ's religion then, and the true people of Christ, and the witness for Christ, to cease

from off the face of the Roman earth? Not so, said the same divine Apocalyptic prophecy. Though the Woman, the impersonation of the faithful united Church Catholic, as once visible to man, had past away out of sight, yet was it expressly declared that *some of her children* would remain on the scene, marked by the distinctive character of keeping God's commandments, and preserving the witness of Jesus Christ: and it was foreshown too, as the great object of the Satanic Spirit in raising up Antichrist, to make war against, and if possible to destroy utterly, these witnesses for the truth as it is in Jesus.¹—Accordingly, wherever in the Apocalyptic prophecy there occurs mention of the Beast Antichrist, or of his antichristian Church,—whether in the primary series of predictions reaching to the 7th Trumpet's sounding, or in that secondary and supplemental series of which the antichristian Beast is the great subject, or in the resumed primary series wherein the seventh Trumpet's judgments were unfolded in the pouring out of the seven Vials,—in each and every part there is mention made also of certain *witnesses for Christ*, co-existing on the scene through the Beast's 1260 years.² Their state during this time was to be a state for the most part of insulation, depression, persecution; though with certain marked epochs of revival and advancement in the witnessing, indicated, as we shall presently

¹ See Apoc. xii. 17.

² In the primary series in Apoc. xi. 3, 7; in the second supplemental series in Apoc. xii. 17; in the resumed primary series, Apoc. xvii. 6, xix. 10.

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see, in the Apocalyptic prophecy ; until, as the final issue, there would come their complete and final triumph. "I will give power unto my two witnesses ; and they shall prophesy 1260 days, clothed in sackcloth."

It was in the primary Apocalyptic series of pre-figurations, in the midst of the 6th Trumpet's æra, that the divine Covenant Angel, figured as having just before descended gloriously on the scene, in intervention, at a dark crisis, for his own cause and people, made this declaration to St. John. And at the same time he added this application to them of certain symbols in Zechariah iv. ;—"These are the two olive-trees, and the two candlesticks, which stand before the Lord of the earth." Now, as the symbol of a candlestick of the Apocalyptic temple is explained by Christ himself, in an earlier part of the Apocalypse, to signify a faithful professing Church, while the two temple olive-trees are depicted in Zechariah's vision as the suppliers of oil to the sacred candlestick, we can scarcely err, I conceive, in expounding the two sackcloth-robed witnesses of the Apocalyptic prophecy to signify a succession small, yet sufficient for valid testimony,¹ of faithful Christian witnessing Churches, and Church ministers and teachers.—Hence our identification of the *two symbolic sackcloth-robed witnesses* of the *primary* series of Apocalyptic prophecy, with "*the remnant of the Woman's* (or faithful Church's) *seed*, which observe God's commandments,

¹ It was the language of the Jewish law, "In the mouth of *two* or *three* witnesses shall every word be established." *Two* was the least number.

and *keep up the witness for Jesus,*" spoken of Apoc. xii. 17, in the *second* series. Which latter, moreover, had the same 1260 days' period of witnessing assigned to them which was assigned to the two symbolic sackcloth-robed witnesses: this being the period of the faithful Church Catholic, their mother, remaining invisible in the wilderness; as well as that of the Beast Antichrist's continuance in power, under whose reign they were to be persecuted for their witnessing. It was just as, besides God's 7000 secret ones, the prophets Elijah and Elisha were appointed to keep up a public witness for God's truth in the time of Ahab's and Israel's apostacy. "I will give power unto my two Witnesses; and they shall prophesy 1260 days, clothed in sackcloth."

LECT.
I.

To show the fulfilment of this, Brethren, in the demonstrable fact of there having been a series of faithful witnessing Churches for Christ, however small, and faithful witnessing Church ministers and teachers, from after the establishment of Popery, all through its long 1260 destined years of duration, (for I here take for granted, as a point already proved, the truth, and applicability in the present instance, of the *year-day* principle,¹) is the duty that I have to undertake in this my *fourth Triad* of Lectures.—And, if I mistake not, you will find, on carefully considering the Apocalyptic prophecy, that there were noted in it *three several marked epochs and æras* in this 1260 years' period of the two witnesses witness-

¹ See pp. 286—289.

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ing; æras each one of advance in the openness and power of the witnessing, though always still in sackcloth: and each, observe, in connexion with its own peculiar associated state of *the Apocalyptic temple-court*; that ever-standing symbol before St. John of the public worship, in its varying phases from time to time, of the professing Church.—The 1st æra figured is that of the two witnesses *gradually perfecting the testimony* against antichristian errors; and, after perfecting it, sustaining the fury of the Beast's war against them, even until momentarily extinct in death;—an æra this during which the *Apocalyptic temple-court* (of which more in my next Lecture) seems to have appeared with *symbols of heathen-worship* intruded from without into it; very much like the ancient Jewish temple-court during the apostacy of Manasseh.—The 2nd æra is that of the *dead Witnesses' sudden resurrection in power*, and *ascent* into the political heaven: an æra ushered in by *the cleansing of the Apocalyptic temple-court* from its heathen abominations, and excommunicating of those heathenized professing Christians who had intruded there; albeit that they still continued to hold to the *outer court* in the vision.—The 3rd æra is that of the seventh Trumpet, and seven Vials that evolved the Trumpet; throughout all which æra it is said, twice over, that *the temple, or tabernacle of witness, was opened in heaven*; and in the course of which it was to be inferred from what was elsewhere said that there would be both a continuance of the witnessing, and contin-

nance of the persecution of Christ's witnesses, even down to the final judgments of the treading of the winepress, and fall of the seven-hilled Babylon.—Such are the three Apocalyptically-prefigured æras of the 1260 years' sackcloth-robed witnessing.—Historically considered, I believe that the 1st of them may be proved to have reached down to the opening of the 16th century, just before the Reformation ; and the 2nd and 3rd of them to correspond with the æras ushered in by the Reformation, and French Revolution, respectively. They will furnish each one its own sufficient subject to the three Lectures of the present season. After which I shall hope to add a summing up of the general argument in a concluding Lecture.—For the present my business is with *the 1st æra* of the witnessing : an æra reaching, as I said, from the commencement of the 1260 years' reign of the Beast, or Papal Antichrist, down to the Beast's greatest success against it, or death of the witnesses, just before the Reformation.

And, in regard of this *primary æra* of the Apocalyptically-figured sackcloth-robed witnessing, I must again observe that there seems strongly marked by the revealing Angel one very notable epoch of distinction and division in it ; viz. between the earlier less perfect witnessing by the witnesses in it, and their later and more perfect witnessing : at the opening of which later half of the æra, not apparently before, the Apocalyptic Beast, it was stated, or Papal An-

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tichrist, would engage in deadly war against Christ's witnesses. For that well-known statement in the 7th verse of the chapter of our text, rendered in the English authorized version, "*When they shall have finished their testimony* the Beast shall make war on them," should be, as I doubt not to prove in its proper place, "*When they shall have perfected their testimony.*"

Thus a twofold division arises in our historic investigation of the subject now before us. And we have to inquire, 1st, did there in fact arise, forthwith from after the Papacy's establishment, with its ten diademed kingdoms in Western Europe, (an event which we have already shown to date from the opening of the 7th century,) protesting witnesses for Christ's truth, and against antichristian error; and was their witness perpetuated in sackcloth and suffering? 2ly, after a while, at some notable epoch of the perfecting of their witness, did the Papal Antichrist make deadly war against, and kill them? I doubt not the answer of historic fact may be shown to have been, on each and either point, in the affirmative.

I. Now, with reference to the *earlier* period of this primary æra of the witnessing it will be necessary for us to look into the *Eastern* division of the Roman world, as well as the *Western*; because for some three centuries after the establishment of the Popedom, even until the memorable schism between the Greek and Roman Churches towards the close of the 9th



century, the Roman Popes had intimate connexion with, and exercised a baneful religious influence in, that Eastern or Constantinopolitan division of the old Roman empire, as well as the Western. The Greek emperor Phocas' decree remained still in force, which recognized the primacy of the Roman Church over all other Churches: and the Popes, thus recognized as Primates, and exercising a watchful supervision¹ over all the great religious acts in that quarter of the world, as well as in their own, did notoriously and too successfully use their influence in favour of Mariolatry, and saint and image worship, in all the grossness of those superstitions. Insomuch that when early in the 8th century some of the Byzantine emperors, stung by the reproaches of the Mahommedan Saracens, had proscribed image-worship in their dominions, Pope Gregory II. stirred up their Italian subjects in revolt against them; nor ceased to help on the superstitious priests and people in their agitations on the matter, till the second great Nicene Council, convened by the empress Irene in 787, under Papal influence, had finally established saint and image worship in the East, and placed its opposers under the ban of anathema.²—Now then, for-

¹ So in Dan. vii. the Beast's little horn Antichrist had "eyes like the eyes of a man." It was an *ἐπισκοπος*, overseer, or Bishop. See my H. A. iii. 81, 157.

² So Vitranga in Apoc. p. 1025. "A Româ manavit superstitio et idolatria per gentes omnes huic mystico subjectas imperio, et in ipsum Orientem: quippe cultus imaginum in Synodo Nicænâ secundâ, faciente Adriano Papâ, denuo in vecta est in ecclesias Orientales, malo earum maximo."

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asmuch as it was over the great *Eastern* division of the Roman world that the antichristian apostacy did thus most early, and for the time most unbrokenly and despotically, establish and enforce its grossest superstitions, (a consummation helped forward doubtless by the unbroken unity all over it of the Imperial priest-allied domination), it was there that a protest for Christ's gospel-truth, distinct and open, against such established superstitions, might seem à priori to have been more imperatively called for at this early æra, than in the more divided, less despotically organized, and less openly corrupted, kingdoms of the *West*. And there accordingly we shall find it to have been raised up at first most markedly and strikingly.

In the *West* indeed, during the progress of the 7th and first half of the 8th century, we read of a few published protests against the incoming antichristian superstitions: such as that of *Serenus of Marseilles* against image-worship, at the opening of the 7th century; of certain so-called *heretics condemned in 650 at Orleans*; and of certain favorers too, as would seem probable, of one of the iconoclastic Greek emperors' iconoclastic views about a century later, noticed in a council at *Chantilly* near Paris.¹ And we are to remember that, though the number of such protestations that we can find on record may be few, yet there must probably have been many more, unnoticed in public records, because of the insulation of

¹ See my H. A. ii. 221.

the localities, and defectiveness of inter-communication: protests these not without popular resentment and opposition, as we infer from Serenus's case; though unmarked by public punishment from the Church authorities, as yet unheaded by the Pope.—Meanwhile moreover, I must not omit to observe, there was markedly prominent in the teaching of Christian preachers and writers in the West, after Augustine, another point of witness-doctrine most important for the then current times, and indeed for all times, our own inclusive:—viz. that the *Church Catholic* which had the promises attached to it was not any mere earthly visible Church, but the *Church of the elect*, known only to God, but invisible to man.—At length, near the end of the 8th century, when the Roman Pope's authority was de facto more universally felt in every part and every pulse of Western Christendom, and when the superstitions he had successfully promoted in the East were in the West too enforced more urgently and generally, there then appeared in palpable sackcloth-robing God's witness against them, *Claude of Turin*: also after him, through the 9th and 10th centuries, other witnesses here and there in Italy, France, Germany, similarly clothed in sackcloth, in other words similarly reviled and persecuted. To these, after my notice of the Eastern witnessing, I may briefly refer again.

Meantime, even from the first, there had been prominent in *Eastern Christendom* the direct anti-idolatrous witnessing of the *Paulikians*: a sect so called

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from its declared following of the apostle Paul's doctrine; and of which, after separating itself about the middle of the 7th century from the Greek established Church, professedly as a witness for Christ against that Church's antichristian idolatries and errors, the subsequent *external* history was as follows. For above two centuries, notwithstanding the bloody imperial persecutions that from time to time assailed it, it still kept up its testimony, raising its voice, and scattering its branch churches, in the Eastern, Northern, and Southern parts of Asia Minor; until at length, just about the time of the great schism between the Latin and Greek Churches,¹ having then become a considerable community, it was in great measure transferred by the Emperor, as a body of colonists, to the Thracian and Bulgarian frontiers of his empire in Europe. Thence, in the xth century, it sent out parties to Italy, Germany, and other countries of Western Christendom, who there and then still every where exhibited the principles of their progenitors; and whether alone, or commingled with indigenous Western witnesses of the soil, (the spiritual descendants of Agobard, Claude of Turin, or others of like spirit,) again raised their voice of protest against the abominations of the now rampant Papal apostacy, and sealed their testimony again and again with their blood. We trace the Western witnessing of these Paulikian emigrants by the Councils that condemned

¹ The Pope's bequest to the Eastern or Greek Church, on the final separation between them, may be said to have been its antichristian idolatry, and other gross superstitions.

them at Turin, Orleans, Arras, Toulouse, Oxford, Lombers, and elsewhere,—alike in Italy, Germany, France, England, Flanders,—from the opening of the xith century to the close of the xiith : at which latter epoch these *Paulikiani*, or *Publicani*, became identified in considerable measure with the *Albigenses* of the South of France ; and also with those sectaries called *Poor Men of Lyons*, or (after P. Valdes, their first teacher at Lyons) by the more famous appellative *Waldenses*.

LECT.
I.

How consistently, earnestly, and sufferingly, these Paulikian sectaries carried out their witness against the antichristian doctrines and worship then prevalent, whether earlier in the East, or later in the West, is notorious ; and moreover that they profest to do it in the character of witnesses for Christ against Romish superstition. “ We are Christians, you Romans.”¹ It is also admitted that their only profest rule of faith and life was God’s written word in the New Testament ; and, as to their life and morals, that though not seldom calumniated by their enemies as immoral, the charge, even on the evidence of their enemies themselves, is demonstrably unsustainable.—But it has been urged against them, and this not by unscrupulous Romanists alone like Bossuet, but of late years even by learned Protestant writers, alike in England

¹ The Paulikians’ vehemence against *Peter* was one of the charges made against them by Petrus Siculus and Photius. There is but one explanation of this at all consistent with historic fact, viz. that it was against him who sate in Peter’s chair at Rome ; and whose acts and voice were at the time, and afterwards continually, from the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon in the 5th century, down to Dr. Newman in the 19th, called the acts and voice of *Peter*. See my H. A. ii. 310, 311 ; also p. 174, *suprà*.

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and Germany, that in doctrine they were fundamentally unsound, having drunk deeply into the doctrines of Manicheism. So more especially, it has been said in regard of their doctrine of the two principles, in regard of their rejection of the Old Testament, in regard of their reported denial of Christ's having come in the flesh, and of their slight, if not rejection, of Christ's holy sacraments. It is well, Brethren, that these charges have been urged afresh in such and so many quarters ; because it has necessitated a more accurate investigation than ever before into the most authentic extant historical records respecting the Paulikians, in order to determine the truth or falsehood of the charges. And I would that a Committee of that learned body which I have the privilege of addressing had it assigned them as a duty to report judicially of the result. If I greatly mistake not, the result would be this ;—that even on the evidence of the Paulikians' most bitter enemies, *P. Siculus* and *Photius*, these charges would be declared, one and all, to break down utterly.—Speaking *generally* of the imputation of *Manicheism* against them, it will be found that with regard to all that is most important and most characteristic in any proposed religious system,—viz. 1st, its doctrine as to the origin of man, and causes of the present mixture in his state of good and evil,—2ndly, its proffered mode of deliverance from the evil,—3rdly, the future prospects opened in it beyond death, both for such as embrace and such as reject it,—4thly, the authority on which

its dogmas are propounded,—I say that in each and all of these several chief points in a religion there is absolutely not a semblance of correspondence between the Manichean system and that which we may infer from Peter Siculus and Photius to have been the religious system of the Paulikians.—Nor will it be less apparent that the *specific* charges, whether of Manichæan or of other unchristian heterodoxy, bear on them too the stamp of falsehood. Thus 1st, as to the Paulikian so-called *dualism*, or doctrine of the *two principles*, (δύο αρχαι,) good and evil, the very word *αρχαι* reminds us that a dualism so exprest might as well be that of two different and contrary *ruling* powers in the world, as that of two contrary and independent *originating* or *creating* principles; the latter being a Gnostic and Manichæan dualism indeed, but the former altogether accordant with the teaching of Christ and his apostles:—as we read, “The prince of this world cometh;” “the god of this world, that ruleth in the children of disobedience.” Now that the Paulikians did not profess their dualism in any Manichæan or unscriptural sense, appears from the fact of their never broaching any cosmogony of their own, or defining the separate acts of two similarly eternal and independent creative powers, so as did the Gnostics and the Manichees: besides that Petrus Siculus himself incidentally mentions a Paulikian woman, well skilled in the doctrine, speaking of the heavenly God as “the one only living and immortal God;” τὸν μόνον ζῶντα καὶ ἀθάνατον Θεόν. And that they *did* mean it in

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the true and Scriptural sense appears from their reported application of it to the state of things that they saw around them, even in professing Christendom; just as St. John says, "The whole world lieth in the wicked one."¹—2ndly, that they did not *reject the Old Testament*, like the Manichees, appears from this; that whereas the avowed reason of the Manichees rejecting it, viz. that of its being (they said) the book of the evil God, involved a rejection of the Old Testament saints also, from their having been the evil God's favorites, it is on the contrary incidentally reported by P. Siculus of the same Paulikian woman, that in conversation with a friend she spoke of the Old Testament saints, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, not as shut out from, but as admitted by the good God into, his kingdom of heaven.—3. That the Paulikians did not *deny Christ's true incarnation, and birth from the Virgin Mary*, appears from the fact that Photius himself, in a very notable passage, quite overlooked till of late,² thus ascribes that heretical notion to *but a fraction* of the Paulikian body: "There is, yes I affirm it, there is *a not inconsiderable portion of Paulikians* that madly argues against the incarnate manifestation of the Word."³ Besides

¹ Compare too what Christ says of the Devil sowing tares *within* the pale of the kingdom, or visible Church.

² It has never been cited, so far as I am aware, by any of the controversialists on the Paulikian subject, friendly to the sect or hostile, till it was cited by myself in a paper against the late Rev. T. K. Arnold in the British Magazine, A.D. 1847, and subsequently in the 4th Edition of my *Horæ*.

³ ἐστι γαρ, ἐστι, τις τῆς ἀποστασίας ταύτης οὐκ ὀλίγη μοῖρα ταύτην τὴν λυσσαν κατὰ τῆς ἐνσαρκίου τοῦ Λογίου παρουσίας προφερούσα· i. e. the

that he notices it as the Paulikians' belief, that instead of a phantastic crucifixion, or crucifixion in semblance only, (so as the Gnostics and Manicheans taught,) Jesus Christ suffered torture on the cross: which belief could have been only entertained by them on the orthodox hypothesis of his having had a true human body, susceptible of suffering.—Once more, 4thly, as regards their asserted *rejection of the two divinely-appointed sacraments*, the falsehood of the charge appears not only from the recorded fact of the Paulikians' own solemn disclaimer of its truth, but from the fact too of their being reported by P. Siculus to have sometimes received both baptism and the Lord's supper from the hands of Greek priests whom they might happen to have had captive among them. In truth it is clear enough that it was the doctrine of the *ex opere operato* saving effect of the sacraments, then in high vogue among the Greek ecclesiastics, (even as with Romanists, and I fear not a few English ecclesiastics too of the present day,) that the Paulikians contended against; just as does still, in her noble Articles of Faith, the Protestant Church of England.¹

λυσσα, or mad theory, of Christ having appeared *εν σχηματι, και υποκρισει*, not *εν αληθεια και υπαρξει*. *Contrà* Manichæos, B. iii. pp. 19, 20. (Ed. Wolf.)

¹ On all this very important subject I must beg to refer my Readers to Part iii. ch. vii. § 5 of my H. A. 4th Edition: where (as also in my Paper in the British Magazine referred to above) the question is, I believe, more fully and critically examined than in any other published disquisition on the subject.

This Paper has never been replied to. It is the more important, because it includes a critical examination and refutation of an elaborate but most illogical paper by Dr. Gieseler, in the Berlin Stud. und Krit. making the Paulikians Marcionites!

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Such is in brief my vindication of the Paulikians, with regard to the character of their witnessing in the *East*.—And with regard to their later witnessing in the *West* the charges of their enemies against them will be found, on that hostile evidence itself, similarly to break down. Nor so alone: but with this crowning and decisive confirmation of the Christian character of their testimony at the close of the 12th century, (to which epoch I brought down my brief sketch of their *external* history and fortunes¹) that they were then, or at least many of them, so received into union and connexion with the *Waldenses from Lyons*, as to be recognized both by sundry Romish writers of the time, and also by those Waldenses themselves, as in faith and doctrine essentially one. More especially let me call attention to the important retrospective bearing, to this purport, of a remarkable clause in the “Noble Lesson;”—that earliest and most interesting document of Valdensic literature in the 12th century.² For now at length, thank God, instead of mere hostile records against them, we have a document of the Witnesses’ own to appeal to:—a document so Christian in its character that the modern impugn-ers of the Paulikian and Albigensic orthodoxy confessedly cannot gainsay its excellence.³ In it then,

¹ See p. 310, 311, *suprà*.

² See on all the Waldensian subject my Chapter on the Waldenses in the 2nd Vol. of the H. A. Where, as on the Paulikians, I believe the whole subject concerning them will be found treated with more research and critical care than elsewhere.

³ E. g. Drs. Maitland and Todd.

instead of the Waldenses speaking of themselves as a sect of witnesses for Christ quite new, after centuries of apostacy previously on the part of all Christendom, we find the following retrospective recognition of a witnessing line of like faith with themselves from the apostles' time downwards even to their own:—"Now *after the apostles* were certain teachers who showed the way of Jesus Christ our Saviour. And *some such are found even to the present time*, who are manifest to very few people. These greatly wish to show the way of Jesus Christ; but they are so persecuted that they can scarcely do it. So much are false Christians blended with error, most of all those who should be pastors."—Nor let me forget to notice a further and very interesting confirmation of the view I am propounding, derived from a manuscript of the middle age found at Lyons in May 1851 by Dr. Gilly. It is a conjoint Valdensic and Albigensic *Servitium*, or *Church Service*, in Provencal Romaunt, appended to a copy of the New Testament in Romaunt; and of which the handwriting itself is referred by the most competent judges to as early a date as the century from 1250 to 1350. It contains, as Dr. G. informs me, a beautiful Litany, unlike however to any other extant; and a form of admission for candidates to the holy communion. It quotes the Old Testament, as well as the New abundantly; and "is a complete vindication of those who used it," he adds, "against the charges both of Manicheism and Arianism."

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II. Having thus brought down my notice of these witnesses for Christ's truth to the union of those of Eastern origin and those of Western in Western Christendom, about the time of the rise of the Waldenses of Lyons towards the close of the 12th century, I must now proceed to observe that I conceive this epoch of the rise of the Waldenses to be one predictively marked out in the far-seeing Apocalyptic prophecy, as that when the sackcloth-robed witnesses would *perfect* their testimony, with the consequence resulting of terrible persecution from the Beast. I refer to that clause in Apoc. xi. 7, *ὅταν τελεσῶσι τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτῶν*, rendered in our version, "When they shall have *finished* their testimony:" but which ought, I doubt not, to be rendered, "When they shall have *perfected* their testimony."

For internal evidence (not to notice other objections) seems of itself decisively to set aside the sense of *finishing*, here given by our translators to the verb *τελεσῶσι*: seeing that, since the 1260 years is marked in the Apocalypse as alike the period of the Beast's reign and of the witnesses' sackcloth-robed witnessing, this rendering would make the epoch of the Beast's war against them to be the epoch of the ending of his own reign; which surely is little less than absurd.—But *τελεῶ*, besides the sense of *finishing*, has also in fact the sense of *perfecting*, just like the cognate verb *τελειῶ*. So Theodoret explains the word in that passage in the 9th of Daniel, which speaks, according to our English version, of "70 weeks being deter-

ained on Jerusalem to *finish* the transgression, and to *make an end of sin* ;” but in the Greek version, *ἕως του τελεσθηναι αμαρτιαν*, with the same Greek verb as here. For he explains the clause to mean, “till they (the Jews) shall have *completed*, or *perfected*, their sin, by crucifying Jesus Christ ; which act he regarded as the culminating point, and perfecting, of the Jews’ national sin.¹ Yet not so as to imply the fact of their sin being then finished, or ended. Quite the contrary : since by their acceptance of their forefathers’ act, and persistence in a similar rejection of Jesus Christ, they had continued that sin to the time when Theodoret wrote ; and indeed still continue it, even to our own time. Precisely the same seems to me the sense of the word *τελεω* in the passage now before us : and, so explained, all becomes easy in it, and consistent with the context. The prediction is then to the effect which I just before intimated :—how that the Papal Antichrist would not immediately make open war on the sackcloth-robed witnesses for Christ ; but at some notable later epoch of the witnessing : when, whether in respect of its *subject-matter*, or of *the mode of making* it, they might be considered to have before the world *perfected* their testimony, and made complete.

Now then it seems to me that at the time of the rise of the Waldenses just such a perfecting of the

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¹ Theodoret’s comment stands thus :—*αντι του, ἕως αν αυξηθη αυτων το δυσσεβες τολμημα, και τελος λαβη η αμαρτια* λεγει δε αμαρτιαν τελειου-μενην, και παραπτωμα παλαιουμενον, ειτ’ ουν αυξανομενον, και εις εσχατον φικνουμενον, τον κατα του Κυριου τολμηθεντα σταυρον.

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witness for Christ, and bringing it to a climax, seems to have taken place, alike with reference to the *subject-matter* and the *mode* of the witnessing.—1st; with reference to its *subject-matter*. For, whereas against that grievous sacramental error which substituted the sign for the thing signified, and at length in regard of one sacrament ended in transubstantiation, against Mariolatry too, and saint and image worship, and against the false prevailing theories of justification by works of merit, penances, and other outward Church observances, both the Paulikians, and also Claude of Turin and his followers, had from the first separately, and then conjointly, contended,—whereas, again, they had both alike long seen and declared that the Pope of Rome, instead of being a pillar of the faith, so as from his high ecclesiastical position he ought to have been, was in truth a departer from the faith of the saints,—yet the mighty fact of the *Pope being the very Antichrist* prophesied of by St. Paul and St. John, and of *his Church on the seven hills* being the actual prefigured *Apocalyptic Babylon*, had not as yet been declared or discerned by them. But now that crowning point of a Christian witness's testimony broke on the view of the Waldenses, and their associates; and they boldly witnessed to it before the world.—Moreover, 2ly, there was also the perfecting of the witness with reference to the *mode* of witnessing, by means of *P. Valdes' translation of the Holy Scriptures into the vulgar Romaunt tongue*. Perhaps, Brethren, you may some of you have seen a

specimen of this translation in the Romaunt Gospel of St. John, lately printed and published by the same honored friend of the Waldenses to whom I was just before referring, Dr. Gilly. It seems to me a document of surpassing interest. Oh! what a realization was there then generally by the poor thirsty souls of Christians, at that dark æra, of the truth of Solomon's proverb, "As cold waters to a thirsty soul, so is good news from a far country!" For now at length the gospel, or good news, of the saving grace of Jesus, was, after long concealment, presented them in their own language.—And specially what a help was it to the witnessing preachers themselves, in their witnessing *for* Christ, and witnessing *against* the prevalent antichristian errors. Before this they must many of them have depended on what they might have learnt by heart of Scripture, (like many now-a-days of the poor Irish converted Roman Catholics,) confirmed by certain written extracts more or less copious. But now they had the whole Book at hand, for their constant instruction, guidance, and support:—that Book of which it was said, under direction of its divine author, that "it was given by inspiration from God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; and that the man of God (or faithful minister) may be thereby *perfect*, (a word of cognate sense to that in the Apocalyptic verse before us,)¹ thoroughly

¹ The word here, 2 Tim. iii. 17, is in some MSS. *αριος*, in others *τελειος*; the latter an adjective corresponding with the verb *τελειω*, which I have rendered *perfected*.

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furnished to all good works.”—Thus, and on these two accounts, the epoch of P. Valdes and the Waldenses may well, I conceive, be judged to answer to the epoch marked out beforehand by the Apocalyptic prophecy, when the two sackcloth-robed witnesses should have *perfected their testimony*.

And so we come to the verification in history of what was prophetically intimated as the event sequent on such a perfecting of it:—“ And when they shall have perfected their testimony, then the Beast that is to rise from the abyss shall make war on them, and shall conquer them, and kill them.” And truly the fulfilment of this was, in regard of each point and clause of the prediction, most marked and notorious. How, after the rise of the Waldenses of Lyons, the witnessing voice against Papal errors and corruptions went on increasingly,—how the Waldenses, and Paulikian or Albigensic sectaries of cognate sentiments that had intermingled with them, carried it speedily into Piedmont and Lombardy, Apulia and Calabria, into Spain too, and northern France, and Belgium, and Germany, and Bohemia,—and then how in the 14th century the Wikliffites took up and repeated the voice, and then in the 15th, Huss and the Hussites, and then in fine, at the close of the same 15th century, the United Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia,—all this appears prominently on the page of history. And just as prominent is it on the historic page that from first to last, throughout all those three centuries, the Papal persecuting power did never for a moment

cease to dog their footsteps, and imbrue itself in their blood. Before the epoch of P. Valdes, the witnesses for Christ's gospel had suffered from imperial persecutions in the East, and in the West from that of the local kings, nobles, or bishops. But now the ten-horned Beast of Western Christendom, or rather its spiritual ruling head the Pope, having on his side completed the subjugation to himself of both princes and prelates, moved everywhere by his bulls and councils against them. First in the 3rd Lateran Council of 1179 (a General Council under Pope Alexander III, of Western Christendom) a decree was issued against Cathari, Patareni, *Publicani*, (i. e. Paulikiani,) and other such sectaries; pronouncing anathema on them and their followers, and forbidding that any should harbour them when alive, or when dead give them Christian burial: then in 1183 a Bull of Lucius III, Pope Alexander's successor; denouncing anathema against Cathari, Patareni, Arnaldistæ, and those who called themselves *Poor Men of Lyons*; ordering also inquisitions against them, (a fearful word now first broached,) with a view to their more effectual detection and suppression. Then next, on Innocent III's accession in 1198, came forthwith his circulars to the Prelates, charging them to gird themselves to the holy work of extirpating the heretics, and to employ for this purpose the arms both of princes and people:—letters followed by his mission of legates a latere, and specially of the Spaniard Dominic, as Inquisitors into the heretical pravity at

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Toulouse ; as also, soon after, by the proclamation of a crusade against the heretics, with all its horrors. Then followed in 1215 the 4th Lateran Council, recognizing and re-sanctioning all former plans for the extirpation of heresy ; then, under the presidency of Papal legates, those of Narbonne and Toulouse : in which latter Councils even children were compelled to denounce all whom they might know to be heretics ; and the holy Scriptures (copies of which, when found, had already been publicly elsewhere burnt by the Popish inquisitors) were strictly interdicted to the laity. And still other Papal Councils and Bulls followed in the same spirit ;—Councils at Arles, Narbonne, and Tarragona, all in the first half of the 13th century.—The fact of the commencement of a Papal anti-witness war, from the time of P. Valdes, is indeed strongly marked in European history. The Waldenses were followed by persecution into all their missions and settlements ; not in Piedmont and Dauphiny alone, but in Spain and Calabria, France and Flanders, Germany and Bohemia. And not the Lyonnese Waldenses only : but all who, whether offshoots derived directly from them, or not, were animated by the same spirit of witnessing for Christ's gospel-truth : more especially Wicliffe and the Wicliffites in England, and Huss and the Hussites in Bohemia.—It was marvellous, considering the might engaged against them, that they endured as they did. Through not the 13th century alone, but through the 14th and 15th also, in spite of racks and prisons, of the

sword and of the flame, their voice was still raised in protest against the corruptions of Popery, and for the truth as it is in Jesus. At length however, towards the close of the 15th century, after a furious renewal of crusades against the Waldenses of Dauphiny and Piedmont, and the purer surviving section of the Hussites in Bohemia, the attainment of the Papal object seemed at hand, and victory nearer and nearer within its grasp. This was just what had been predicted. For not only had it been said that “the Wild Beast from the abyss should make war on them;” but, also, that “he should conquer them, and kill them.”

It is at this epoch that the subject of my present Lecture closes. As the 15th century drew to an end, it is alike the statement of Popish and of Protestant ecclesiastical historians that the protesting voice against Rome was all but silenced, the witnesses all but exterminated. “Every thing,” says one historian, “was now quiet; every heretic exterminated; and the whole Christian world supinely acquiesced in the enormous superstitions palmed upon them.”—And what kind of superstitions? Surely truth itself must designate them as *heathenish*. For in all the churches of Christendom the worship exhibited was essentially heathenish in character: being chiefly, if not wholly, that of the creature, not the Creator;—of saints, saints’ images, the Virgin Mary, the consecrated elements; with altar, incense, candles, holy water for lustrations, and offerings to the saints accompanying, precisely after the heathen model. Just then in agree-

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ment with truth was the picturing of the Apocalyptic temple-court in vision (that standing symbol of the church and church worship of the time,) as at this time defiled, like Judah's temple-court in the time of Manasses, with heathenism : and just too in agreement, let me add, with St. Paul's cognate prediction of Antichrist, with his pseudo-Christian heathenism, sitting in the temple of God. So that well indeed might the language of the Psalmist have been adopted in those days by the really faithful ; " O God, the *heathen* are come into thine inheritance ; *thy holy temple have they defiled.*"

As to the exact epoch and occasion which may be looked upon as that of Antichrist's completed momentary triumph, and of the two Apocalyptic Witnesses' predicted *death*, as well as of the events which may be regarded as answering to their predicted sudden *revival* soon afterwards, and the synchronic *cleansing of the Apocalyptic temple-court*, (a subject of surpassing interest,) I purpose to speak of this in my next Lecture.

LECTURE II.

THE WITNESS FOR CHRIST REVIVED, AFTER APPARENT
EXTINCTION ; AND APOCALYPTIC INNER TEMPLE-
COURT DEFINED AND PURIFIED.

APOC. XI. 1—3.

“AND THERE WAS GIVEN ME A REED LIKE UNTO A ROD : AND THE ANGEL STOOD SAYING,¹ RISE AND MEASURE THE TEMPLE OF GOD, AND THEM THAT WORSHIP THEREIN : BUT THE COURT WHICH IS WITHOUT THE TEMPLE CAST OUT, AND MEASURE IT NOT ; FOR IT HATH BEEN GIVEN² TO THE GENTILES : AND THE HOLY CITY SHALL THEY TREAD UNDER FOOT FORTY AND TWO MONTHS. AND I WILL GIVE POWER UNTO MY TWO WITNESSES : AND THEY SHALL PROPHECY 1260 DAYS CLOTHED IN SACKCLOTH.”

IN the historic sketch given in my last Lecture we traced the witness for Christ (that same which the Covenant-Angel here determinately declared should be kept up during the whole of the Beast Antichrist's 1260 prophetic days of supremacy) through the earliest of the three æras into which the Apocalyptic prophecy, as we lately saw,³ has divided it. And, in concluding, we left it at the lowest point of depression ; warred down, and almost annihilated, (just as

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¹ Some good manuscripts omit the words, *και εισηκει ο αγγελος*. But the sense will be the same ; the word *αγγελος* being then understood before *λεγων*. So Eichorn, Heinrichs, &c. See my full Note, H. A. ii. 177, 178.

² *εδοθη*.

³ See pp. 303, 304 *suprà*.

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had also been predicted,) by the fury of the Papal enmity. This was the case at the close of the xvth century; a time when the Pope's supremacy, as Christ's Vicar on earth, had been established near about 900 out of its 1260 destined years of duration.—It remains in this, and the next succeeding Lecture, to trace the witnessing further, throughout two strikingly prefigured epochs of revival, and onward progress;—the one that of the *Apocalyptic inner temple-court*, or Christian Church, being *cleansed, defined, and politically established*, together with the *resurrection of the two sackcloth-robed slain witnesses*, so (we shall see) as at the *Reformation*; the other that of the thus defined and established witness-Church¹ being *opened to the world*, so as at the great *French Revolution*. Which latter step of progress was figured as occurring introductorily to the witnesses' assured final and complete triumph.—A subject this, in its two great steps of progress, how deeply interesting! In the tale of England's grand struggle against Napoleon, we may well take delight in tracing the advance of the cause of Freedom from its last refuge within the lines of Torres Vedras, by one and another decisive step of progress, towards its glorious ultimate success. How much deeper ought to be our feelings of interest where the cause in jeopardy was that of Christ's gospel-truth, and of man's spiritual and religious freedom!—Specially must its primary crisis of extremest peril,

¹ It is called after this "the temple of the tabernacle of Witness." Apoc. xv. 5.

and consequent revival, be regarded as a subject for our deepest sympathies. So the Apocalyptic prophecy seems to view the matter. For it stops abruptly in its onward course through the judgments of the 6th Trumpet, to dilate at large, and dwell with the most singular particularity of detail, on its prefiguration.

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II.

It is this that is to be the subject of my present Lecture.—But how, Brethren, considering the narrow limits of time allotted to me, shall I be able to set it duly before you? I wish at once to state that I feel the copiousness and particularity of the prophecy, and of its historic fulfilment, to constitute a difficulty in the way of discussing it; at the same time that it makes that discussion a duty. Charged as I am, in my character of Warburton Lecturer, to consider prophecy with particular reference to the evidence that it offers of inspiration by the Divine Omniscient One, it would seem a dereliction of duty in me to pass lightly over what I deem to furnish evidence in point most remarkable and convincing. And this the rather, considering that the passage before us is one on which new and important light has been thrown, if I mistake not, by recent researches; and consequently one on which previous Lecturers on this foundation are not likely to have entered. On the other hand the difficulty is obvious, within the narrow limits of a single Lecture, of intelligibly and effectively exhibiting from history the detailed fulfilment of a prophecy reaching through near two chapters of the Apocalypse, from

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Apoc. ix. 20 to xi. 13. My only course will be, to study brevity as far as may possibly consist with distinctness.—Let me premise that if any one feel inclined to doubt the wisdom of thus expounding prophecy by history so much in detail, I would remind him that it is by showing the fulfilment of the Messianic Old Testament prophecies, *in all their minuteness of detail*, in the history and character of Jesus of Nazareth, that we make out the clear case of Jesus being indeed the Messiah.—Again, supposing fuller proof of the facts asserted than what I may here give to be desired by any one present, I would observe that it is only from lack of time that this deficiency will arise in my present Lecture. On each and every one of the points most requiring elucidation, full and well-sifted evidence may be found given by me elsewhere.

Turn we now to the prophecy.—And I think we may conveniently group what we have to say in unfolding it under four main heads :—1. the chronological æra and religious state of Christendom at the time of the crisis ; 2. the Covenant-Angel's intervention ; 3. the Angel's cleansing and defining of the inner temple-court as his own ; and 4. the synchronic death, resurrection, and ascension of the two sackcloth-robed witnesses :—this last as in part reported to St. John by the Angel in vision, in part visibly acted out immediately afterwards on the Apocalyptic scene before him. Taking the whole together we shall find in it, I doubt not, a prophecy so extraordinarily exact, cir-

cumstantial, and comprehensive, of the Reformation, as to furnish to the mind of each candid inquirer most convincing evidence of divine foreknowledge in him who revealed it to St. John in Patmos. My exposition (as on some previous occasions)¹ will be simply in the form of a rapid running historic comment.

I. THE CHRONOLOGICAL ÆRA OF THE PREFIGURED CRISIS OF PERIL AND INTERVENTION, AND RELIGIOUS STATE SYNCHRONICALLY OF WESTERN CHRISTENDOM.

Chronologically then the æra was marked in the sacred prophecy, not merely as coming under the 6th Trumpet; (that Trumpet of which the main subject was the judgment on Christendom of the Turks from the Euphrates;²) but as occurring shortly after the invaders should have effected one grand point of their mission of judgment, viz. the destruction of the third part of the men of the Roman world, i. e. of its Eastern third, or of the Constantinopolitan Empire. Now it was a very singularly defined period in which, reckoned from the time of their first loosing from the Euphrates, the Turkmans, according to the prophecy, were to accomplish this;—"an *hour, day, month, and year.*" And in proof how extraordinarily that period was observed in the accomplishment of the object, we need but to compute the prophetic period, and look to history. Calculating then on the *year-day* principle, (of the truth of which I have before spoken, and enter-

¹ E. g. on the Apocalyptic Seals. See p. 213, et seq.

² See p. 234, *suprà*.

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taining myself not a doubt,)¹ the prophetic period will be found to amount to just 396 years and 118 days.² And reckoning this from Jan. 18th, 1057, which was the date of the Turkman's first loosing from the Euphrates,³ in character of temporal Lieutenant of the Mahometan Caliph, it results that the day on which it expired was the 16th of the month of May, 1453.—Turn we next to Gibbon's correspondent historic page; and what read we there? We read that on the 6th of April of that selfsame year, 1453, the fatal siege of Constantinople, the imperial city and last refuge of the Byzantine emperor, had been begun by the victorious Turkmen. We read further of the desperate resistance and fitful hopes of the besieged, more especially from the help brought by the fleet of Genoese allies from Western Christendom. We read again of the Sultan's frustration of those hopes by trans-

¹ See pp. 286—289 *suprà*.

² The word for *year* being here not *καιρος*, the constant prophetic term for the year of 360 days, (for $3\frac{1}{2}$ *καιροι* = 1260 days,) but *εναυτος*, a word signifying the year's returning unto itself, or complete solar year, the calculation stands thus: (see my H. A. i. 493:)

A year = $365\frac{1}{2}$ days = 365 years + $\frac{1}{2}$ of a year.

A month = 30 days = 30 years.

A day = 1 year.

396 years.

$\frac{1}{4}$ of a year = 91 days }
or, deducting Gregor. corr. of 3 } = 88 days.
days for the 396 years,
An hour* = $\frac{1}{12}$ of a prophetic day, or year, = 30 days.

Total 396 years + 118 days.

³ See H. A. i. 494—498.

* "Are there not 12 hours in a day." John xi. 9.

porting his ships across the isthmus of Galata into the inner harbour, and thus and thereby completing the investment of the devoted city. Then follows the statement by the historian ; “ After a siege of *forty days* the fate of Constantinople could no longer be averted.” What then was this 40th day of the siege ? It was May 16 ; that selfsame day on which, as we saw, the Apocalyptic period expired.—The final attack was indeed delayed some ten or twelve days after. But on and from that day, according to the historian, the fate of the city and empire was sealed.

As to the predicted *religious state* following after this catastrophe of the men of that part of Roman Christendom “ which had not been destroyed by these plagues,” i. e. of the men of the Western Roman world, (their state immediately before the Covenant-Angel’s intervention in Apoc. x.) they are described in our prophecy as not repenting of the sins of worship of dæmons, and of idols of gold and silver and brass and wood, the work of their own hands ; nor of the sins of murder, fornication, theft, sorcery.¹—Now for evidence of the fact that the three last-named sins, those of *fornication, theft, sorcery*, (i. e. religious deceits and craft,) characterized the spiritual rulers and priesthood of Western Christendom in the half century following the overthrow of Constantinople, as well as throughout the four preceding centuries, during which the Turks had been advancing to its overthrow, I need

¹ Apoc. ix. 20, 21.

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but refer to what has been elsewhere copiously cited in illustration,¹ from ecclesiastical histories and Councils of the æra. They are, one or the other, full on the subject. — In proof that *murders* (murders on system, and as an essential part of the religion established) were chargeable on the men of Western Christendom, I may simply remind you of what was detailed in my last Lecture respecting the persecution and massacres of the witness-bearing Waldenses, and Lollards, and Bohemian United Brethren.²—Finally, as to the truth of the prophetic charge against them of *worshipping demons, and idols, the work of their own hands*, I shall cite the remarkable evidence of the Turkish Sultan himself, when starting in 1469, soon after the capture of Constantinople, on the invasion of Italy: —“I Mahomet, son of Amurath, promise to the only God, Creator of all things, that I will not give sleep to my eyes, nor eat any delicacies, till I overthrow, and trample under the feet of my horses, the gods of the nations; those *gods of wood, and brass, and silver, and gold, and painting*, which *the disciples of Christ have made with their hands*.”³ One might almost have thought, did we not know the impossibility of the fact, that Mahomet had copied from the Apocalyptic passage before us, in this his description of the religious idolatry of Western Christendom in the latter half of the 15th century. Surely a more extraordinary proof of the exactness of the Apocalyptic

¹ See my H. A. ii. Part iii. Ch. i.

² See pp. 322—329 *suprà*. ³ From Sismondi. See H. A. ii. 30.

prophetic sketch on the point could not even have been imagined.

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II.

Such then was the chronological epoch, and such the heathenized state of Western Christendom, with an all but extinction of the gospel-witness, (as we shall see presently under my 4th Head,) as predicted, and as fulfilled in the history of the close of the xvth century, which preceded and introduced Christ's wonderful intervention to revive it, according to the same Apocalyptic prophecy. Had this latter prediction then its fulfilment also in history? This was the second and next point for our consideration.

II. THE INTERVENTION, and PRIMARY ACTINGS OF THE INTERVENING ANGEL, as described in the xth Apocalyptic Chapter.

And 1st, under this head, consider the *Angel's descent itself*.—Now, in the *prophecy*, there are here to be observed carefully the points following:—the *chronological place* of his descent, as in sequence immediate and sudden on the dark moral phase, just before noted, of what remained undestroyed of Christendom:—then next the *nature of the Angel*; he being indicated alike by the mantling-cloud of divinity,¹ the covenant-rainbow crowning him, his face like the sun, and feet like pillars of fire, (just as in Christ's revelation of himself in Dan. x. and Apoc. i.)² also by his soon after

¹ See H. A. ii. 40. I have there observed that I believe there is no single Scriptural instance of a created angel appearing vested in a cloud. It was the ensign of Deity. See Psalm civ. 3, xviii. 11. 2 Sam. xxii. 12, &c.

² Dan. x. 6, Apoc. i. 15.

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calling the two sackcloth-robed witnesses *his* witnesses,¹ to be the Covenant-Angel Christ Jesus :— further the *special character of his present revelation of himself*, viz. as the sun of righteousness, and angel of the covenant of grace ; not without a striking concurrent vindication to himself, as if against some grand usurper, of his rightful honors in this character, and rightful lordship over our world ; planting his feet, as he did authoritatively, on sea and land, and crying with a loud voice as when a lion roareth :— finally the *little book* which he showed opened in his hand, when descending, just as if the instrumental means, as well as accompaniment, of the revelation ; and which what follows at the end of Apoc. x.² proves (as we shall hereafter see) to have been the *book of the Gospels*, or perhaps of the whole *New Testament*.

So the *prophecy*. And now mark the exact correspondency of events in the *history* of the times to which we refer it.—Just at the opening of the 16th century, when Western Christendom, sunk in the superstitions of a religion of penances, purgatory, saints-merits, papal indulgences, and other inventions of priestcraft, was all but in universal and utter darkness as to God's own gospel-method of justification for sinful men, through faith in the divine Saviour-substitute Christ Jesus,—just then, all suddenly and gloriously, did the Lord Jesus reveal himself to Luther and other ministers of the true apostolic line and spirit, (such as St. John seems all along to have im-

¹ Apoc. xi. 3.² Verse 10.

personated on the Apocalyptic scene,¹) in his true character of the sun of righteousness, and angel of God's covenant of grace ; and all by unveiling to their minds the intent of the long-shut but now opened book of the gospel. It was a view accompanied (as it ever must be) with a sense vivid and clear, on their part, of Jesus Christ's plenary claim to our earth as his own ransomed possession. And loudly did their voice re-echo the claim : especially as against the claims of all counter usurping authority ; such as Tetzels and others, charged with the sale of Papal Indulgences, were at the time ascribing over half Western Europe to Christ's supposed Vicegerent on earth, the Pope.—Nor surely ought we to overlook, as illustrating this point, the singular fact, that there were exhibited at Rome at this self-same epoch before applauding Europe, on occasion of a new Pope, Leo the xth's inauguration, magnificent paintings representing the Pope in each and every one of the characters, and as invested with each and every one of the prerogatives, here Apocalyptically vindicated to himself before St. John by the Lord Jesus Christ : —the Pope as a rising sun upon a dark world ; the Pope with the rainbow of grace for his accompaniment ; the Pope with one foot on the land, and the other on the sea, as each alike under his authority. And this not in the way of a mere complimentary pageant ; but as expressive of the view generally taken at the time of the Pope's real prerogatives and func-

¹ See H. A. i. 280—284, ii. 112.

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tions, in his character of Christ's Viceregent; the *Antichrist* in fact superseding the *Christ*.¹—Could the divine Omniscient Spirit, let me ask, have been ignorant of all this, when, in anticipation of the far distant future, he sketched before St. John this counter-figuration of Christ in the visions of Patmos?

Next, 2ly, in the Apocalyptic prefiguration we read that "the seven thunders" were heard by St. John to "utter their voices:"—thunders therefore not of common sound, like those from the throne, but distinct and vocal: and so impressing St. John that he was at first on the point of writing what they said; (doubtless for the same reason for which he was elsewhere bidden to write the words he heard, viz., because of their being words from God;)² but in a very remarkable manner was checked from doing so by a warning voice from heaven, and bidden not to write.—Had this too its counterpart in the progressing history of the Reformation?

In order to understand its purport we must remember that, in St. John's time, a publicly-sounded voice from Rome's seven hills was poetically designated as a *septenary of voices*; ³ and also that the mandates from the emperor there enthroned were called *thunders*, especially if mandates of rebuke, because of his world-known pretensions to divinity.⁴ Which re-

¹ See Part iii. Ch. 3. of the H. A.: where every point is fully and elaborately illustrated.

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itself, which at first he scarce dared to listen to ; viz. that, instead of Christ's voice, it might in reality be that of Antichrist. Soon, very soon, examination of the Papal canon law and decretals convinced him of the fact. And then he kindled a fire, as we all know, outside the walls of Wittemberg ; and rejected and burnt the bull (to use his own language) as "the infernal voice of Antichrist."—This discovery was, in effect, the second great step of the Reformation.

3. Next in the prophecy, and as in sequel to the charge from heaven against St. John's writing the voices of the seven thunders, came a solemn oath from the Angel, (the counterpart to that sworn by the Angel in the xiith of Daniel about the $3\frac{1}{2}$ fated times of the duration of Antichrist,) declaring that the term to God's great mystery (i. e. of such antichristian usurpation and rule being permitted) was not only fixt, but near, being assigned to the days of the next or 7th Trumpet's sounding.—So too, in the history of Luther and his brother Reformers, we read that when entering now at length on deadly conflict with the Pope, as Antichrist, their attention began earnestly to be directed to what inspired Scripture prophecy had told of Antichrist's duration ; and how the impression was strongly made upon their minds, either from Daniel's or the Apocalyptic prophecy, that the destined term to it was not only fixt, but near. In fact, it became soon the conviction of many, that the 6th Apocalyptic Trumpet was already then far advanced in the world's eventful drama ; and that the

next or 7th Trumpet's sounding was not far off, which was to usher in the destruction of the Papal Antichrist. The thought was of unspeakable value to the Reformers, amidst their immense trials and difficulties. It gave them patience, courage, hope. Indeed but for it they must have been overwhelmed by their difficulties. It constituted another marked point of advance in the progress of the Reformation.

4th, in the prefiguration, was the hearing of a voice from heaven, (that same that had previously forbidden St. John's writing what the seven thunders uttered,) commanding him to take the opened gospel-book from the Angel's hand; and, after himself eating and digesting it, to prophesy again, or again preach the gospel contained in it, before peoples, and kings, and nations. For the word *prophesy* means to preach and publish; and the word *again* implied that there had been some marked intermission of such prophesying previously.—Just accordant with which was the next step of action taken by Luther and the other Reformers. After translating the New Testament into German, and the other languages of Northern Europe, (and with what zest they digested the Book, while so occupied, their own statements testify,) they proceeded to publish and preach the gospel contained in it in Germany, France, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, England, and Scotland: and this as men who, though excommunicated by the Pope, held their ministerial commission still; even as from one higher than any bishop or Pope, from Christ himself.—And

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observe; it was the renewal of what had been suppressed; the Bohemian, Wicliffite, and Waldensic gospel-preaching having shortly before been put down by the Papal power. For, as I shall have to notice more distinctly under my 4th main head, the preaching by the Reformers of the 16th century was but a revival and extension of substantially the same gospel-doctrine with that of the witnesses before.

So ends the first part of the prefigurations, that contained in the xth Apocalyptic Chapter.—Next, but in closest connexion with the foregoing, followed the charge to *measure the temple*. Which point I proposed to consider under a new and distinct head.

IIIly, then, consider we ST. JOHN'S MEASURING OF THE APOCALYPTIC TEMPLE.

“Rise,” said the Angel to St. John, (there being given concurrently into the Evangelist's hand, as if for the purpose of fulfilling the charge, a measuring reed like, it is stated, unto a rod or sceptre,) “and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein: but the court which is without the temple, cast out, and measure it not, for it hath been given to the heathen: and the holy city shall they tread under foot 42 months.”—Such was the prophetic figuration. And, in order to its proper understanding, we have only to follow out the indications given in the Apocalyptic book, respecting, 1st, the *temple*; 2ly, the *measuring*.

1. As regards the *temple*, then, I must remind you,

though at the risk in some measure of repetition,¹ how that from the very first, and all through the acting out of the Apocalyptic figurations, there stood before St. John a temple, very much like that of the Jews, in the foreground of vision : and that, agreeably with Christ's own explanation of the temple-scene previously visible in the introductory vision of Apoc. i, respecting the things then *present* at the time of St. John's exile in Patmos, (I mean that where the seven candlesticks were exhibited, in symbol of the seven Christian Asiatic Churches, and Christ walking, robed like the Jewish High-priest, among them,) this Apocalyptic temple, in the visions of the *future*, could only be construed consistently as still continuing to be a symbol of the *Christian worshipping Church*. A symbol of it, we may observe, in its three various parts :—the *altar-court* (which was the part open in the old Jewish temple to the view of Jewish worshippers) exhibiting the scene and character of the professing Church's public worship ; the *holy place*, with its seven-branched candlestick and golden incense altar, where the ministering priest was alone to enter, the Church's worship as seen and judged of by the great High Priest and Searcher of hearts, in respect of its spirituality and truth ; and the *holy of holies*, where the Divinity appeared enthroned, with the twenty-four elders round him, the happy place of the worship of the Church triumphant in heaven.—Which being so, the various phases of this temple's altar-

¹ See pp. 210, 222, 231, 232, 326, *suprà*.

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court and holy place, as depicted from time to time in vision, offered of course to the seer (conjunctively with the added explanations) very significant indication of the state of the worshipping Church at the various successive epochs figured ; and each, I must add, well realized in history.—Thus the first described phase of the temple was that under the 5th Seal, when its altar-court appeared desolate, and destitute of all sign or sound of the usual temple-worship ; the only sound issuing thence being that of the souls of martyrs for Christ's cause, crying from beneath the altar, “ How long, O Lord, dost thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth : ”—all (as long since observed by me) ¹ in symbol of an æra of persecution, during which public Christian worship would be interdicted, and martyrdoms of Christian saints more than ever before rife : just such as at the period of Diocletian's persecution ; when pillars were erected in commemoration of the extinction of Christianity, and which history designates emphatically as “ the æra of martyrs.”—The second and next depicted phase of the Apocalyptic temple was at the 7th Seal's opening ; ² after that, under the revolution of the 6th Seal immediately preceding, the heaven of the old Roman heathen supremacy had been seen to pass away, and another to succeed, under which the inhabitants of the Apocalyptic or Roman world appeared identified with the twelve tribes of Israel ; (the nationally profest worshippers of course in the

¹ See p. 222.² See pp. 231, 232.

Apocalyptic temple;) in other words, the Roman world and its people to have become in profession Christian. For then the Apocalyptic temple presented to view an incense-offering scene; wherein, from the hand of the mediating Angel-priest, and with fire duly taken from the great brazen altar of atonement, the smoke of much incense was seen to rise acceptably on the golden altar before the throne:—but this as incense given by “*the saints*” distinctively and alone, or *sealed election of the 144,000*, from out of all the professing Israel of the Apocalyptic world: the rest, under the appellation of inhabitants of the earth, notwithstanding their new Israelitish profession, being indicated as non-participants in that act of worship; and consequently as objects on which would fall the fire of the divine wrath and judgment. A prefiguration this strikingly verified in the history of the Christian Roman empire at the close of the 4th century. For the mass of the people had by that time already forsaken Christ’s mediatorship for the mediatorship of departed saints and martyrs; and the virtue of Christ’s atoning sacrifice, God’s one and only-appointed means of reconciliation, for their own self-invented substitute of saints’ merits, with the accompaniment of sundry superadded superstitious rites and observances.—Yet again, after the five first Trumpet-woes had thereupon followed successively in judgment on the Roman world, these being the woes of the Goths, Huns, Vandals, and Saracens, there occurred a *third* scenic act in the Apocalyptic

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temple, introductorily to the outpouring of the 6th Trumpet, or Turkish woe. It was that of a voice from the four horns of the golden altar, summoning the agents of the new judgment from the Euphrates. Now since it was at the four horns of the golden altar, according to the Mosaic ritual, that reconciliation was ordered to be made for the sins of priesthood and people,¹ (the *only* ritualistic use, I believe, of those horns of the golden altar,) with assurance in that case of pardon and peace, the cry for judgment from the golden altar's horns could only symbolize that at the epoch intended there would be no such national or sacerdotal repenting, no such reconciliation with God in the Christian Roman Empire. Just agreeable to which is the voice of history. For the sins of saint and image-worship, with their concomitant superstitions, were all continued, indeed augmented, in spite of the preceding judgments. And so the Turkish woe ran its course.

2. So much as to the *Apocalyptic temple*, and the illustrations of its intent from the various phases previously exhibited in the preceding part of the prophecy.—Which being so, need we be at a loss in decyphering the intent of what we were, 2ly, under this head to consider, *the temple's measuring by St. John*? What could his defining it, at the Covenant-Angel's command, and in that definition including specifically the altar and them that worshipped there, but excluding the outer court as that of heathens, albeit

¹ Levit. iv. 3—7, 13—18, xvi. 1—18. See H. A. i. 455.

from their very occupation of that outer-court professedly temple-worshippers,—what, I say, could this mean, but that they whom St. John here symbolized and impersonated, viz. Luther and the other reforming fathers, would, next after entering as by Christ's own commission on the evangelists' work of preaching and publishing the gospel, take the yet further step of publicly re-forming and defining the Christian Church, alike in regard of doctrine and worship : and this not by Christ's own authoritative command alone, but also (through his kind providence) with magisterial and princely authority attending them ; the measuring reed's *resemblance to a rod, or sceptre*, this signifying ? Moreover that, in their definition of what might truly be called a Christian Church, they would make what the Jewish altar-worship signified its grand test of character ; in other words its professing a faith, and exhibiting a ritual of worship, wherein Christ's sacrifice should be recognized as the one medium and means of reconciliation with God : while they who rested on other modes of atonement and propitiation, so as the Roman Papists, were to be excluded and excommunicated, albeit professedly Christians, as not really appertaining to a true visible Christian Church ?—So construed, the Apocalyptic symbolization did in fact receive, in each and every particular, at the time to which we ascribe it, a most exact fulfilment. Up to the time of their translating and publishing the New Testament in the character of evangelists and preachers, the reformers had done no-

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thing in the way of purifying the public worship, and defining what might be deemed a true visible Church, even in Saxony. But shortly afterwards, the call to do this was recognized as received from heaven; and earthly magisterial authority given for it to Luther and his associates, by the Saxon elector and other princes. The Churches were cleared of their idolatrous pictures; the superstitions of the old ritual put away; and confessions and articles of a pure evangelic faith (witness those of our own reformed Church) published: while, on the other hand, the adherents of the old Popish faith and worship were excommunicated, as not being of Christ's true Church, but one rather antichristian and heathen. So in Saxony; so in Denmark, Sweden, Brandenburg, Switzerland, and also, thank God, in England and Scotland. This was specifically the *Re-formation* of the Church, its *Scriptural Reformation*.

IV. It remains to connect with this, under my 4th main head, what was now heard from the Angel, and what was afterwards figured to St. John, respecting CHRIST'S TWO SACKCLOTH-ROBED WITNESSES.

I have said, what was now *heard* from the Angel, and what was immediately afterwards *seen* by him respecting them, because by separating what follows under these two subdivisions (subdivisions plainly marked in the prophecy) we shall, I think, best perceive the intimate and perfect connexion of this branch of our subject with what has preceded, and its completion of the prefiguring of the Reformation.

Now, as regards *what the Angel said to St. John* respecting his two witnesses, we have to note, 1st, *its order of time and sequence* in the Apocalyptic prophecy; how that it followed next after St. John's receiving charge from the Angel to prophesy again, and having the reed like unto a rod given him for the measuring of the temple.—Just agreeable with which was the fact (and I must say it seems to me in itself a most remarkable coincidence of fact with prophecy) that very shortly after the reforming fathers' re-formation of the Church in various countries, under sanction of the several ruling authorities, their attention was directed very earnestly, in *retrospective* regard, to the tracing out of witnesses for Christ's truth; such as might have testified for it, like themselves, in the dark ages of apostacy preceding. The inquiry was of course as natural as it was important: for, even had the enemy's taunt about the *novelty* of their doctrine been wanting, how could their own jealousy for Christ's truth and honour but make them anxious to prove that it was no novelty? Nor was the inquiry vain. The recent revival of letters supplied them with documentary evidence, and opportunities for research, before hidden and wanting. And, as the result, books of great research on the subject were soon published in Germany and England; books, of which Mosheim speaks as constituting an æra in ecclesiastical history: and with the specific title to one, of "*A Catalogue of Witnesses*," (so the Magdeburgensian book was called;) and to another, (that by the

martyrologist Foxe in England,) of "*The Book of Martyrs*," i. e. of witnesses.¹

Further, as to the general *character* and *history* of the witnesses of past times, presented to them in these their researches, it well agreed with that which the Angel set before St. John in his retrospective narrative at this point of the Apocalyptic prophecy.—As it was *his* (the Covenant Angel's) witnesses that *he* told about, so it was distinctively church-communities and church teachers of this character (the church-communities answering to the Apocalyptic symbol of the *lamps*, the teachers to that of the *olive trees* which dropt oil into the lamps)² that they sought out, and found presented to them in the records of the past : i. e. such, contrastedly with the then reigning superstition, as in their prophesyings, and their church worship, set forth CHRIST JESUS, in his various offices as man's Divine and only Saviour ; or, as in Apoc. xii. 17, that " kept the commandments of God, and the testimony of Jesus."—So too as to the *number* of such witnesses that they could trace out, it was with all their labour of inquiry but small, the series broken and interrupted : only just enough to answer to the prophecy's symbolic numeral of Christ's *two* witnesses, *two* lamps, and *two* olive-branches ; the very least number that the Jewish law recognized as a competent and valid testimony.—Once more,

¹ I need hardly observe that the same Greek word *μαρτυρες* means both *witnesses* and *martyrs*.

² See p. 302.

they saw it to have been throughout, and in every case, just as the Apocalyptic Angel described it, a witnessing *in sackcloth*; i. e. in sorrow, depression, and suffering.

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So as regards the *general* view of his two witnesses, set by the Angel in retrospective narrative before St. John. And in regard of that *specific* æra in their history when, after the *perfecting* of their testimony, the Beast from the abyss, or Papal power, should make war on them, there was still, as I had occasion to show up to a certain point in my last Lecture, the same coincidence between prophecy and history.¹ For when the Waldenses of the 12th century, taking up the witness-cause, had added to the previous witnessing for Christ's truth against the dominant errors and superstitions that culminating point of testimony, that the Pope of Rome, the grand supporter of those superstitions and errors, though calling himself *Christ's Vicar on earth*, was in real truth the very predicted *Man of Sin* and *Antichrist*, then indeed, as the Angel's words described the thing, the Papal Beast did make war with all his power on them; and for three centuries unceasingly, the 13th, 14th, 15th, the Papal Bulls and Councils, as we saw, loudly proclaimed it.—On the ending of that *crisis* of the war, however, including the two witnesses' *death*, and presently after their wonderful *resuscitation*, with which the Angel concludes his retrospective narrative, thereby indirectly connecting that last glorious phase

¹ See pp. 318—326, *suprà*.

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of their history with the epoch of his own light-bearing descent on the Apocalyptic scene, and charge to St. John to prophesy again, I did not then enter; because of its belonging rather to the subject of my present Lecture. And to it then I now proceed.

Very graphic, and very detailed, as I before intimated, was the Angel's description of the crisis. After speaking of the Beast's war against them as ending in the two witnesses' death, it represents a *gathering of deputies* from the various kindreds and people of the Beast's empire to have taken place about the time, who look on and observe it. The *local scene* of the gathering is stated to be the *πλατεια*, or *broad place*, of the great city, i. e. of *Rome*; not Rome in the town's strictly local limits; but rather (I conceive with Bossuet and others) Rome as the *Roman civitas*, comprehending all its subject territories: in which case the *πλατεια* must signify Rome itself locally, as being then the central place of gathering for law and for religion. Besides which designation of the locality, the Angel very singularly and pointedly designates it as *spiritually*, or *under the Spirit's teaching*, called *Sodom* and *Egypt*; and the place too where (as once in *apostate Jerusalem*) the witnesses' Lord had been crucified. There the gathered deputies are described as gloating over the dead witnesses' corpses: (literally, corpse, in the singular:¹ the corporate and symbolic character of the two witnesses being thus indicated:)

¹ *πτωμα*. So the best MSS. It seems almost in itself a refutation of the idea of the two witnesses meaning two men singly and literally.

moreover as insulting them by forbidding their burial in any *μνημειον*, or tomb of memorial; and rejoicing, and making merry, on the festive occasion. But behold on a sudden, after $3\frac{1}{2}$ days, "the Spirit of life from God entered into them:" (the Angel here uses the past tense as if of a transaction of past time, in finishing his retrospective narrative :) "and they stood upon their feet, and great fear fell on them that beheld them."

LECT.
II.

So the Angel in the *prophecy*: and now see how exactly it was all answered to in the *history*.—Considering the two witnesses as the symbolic number for a small but competent number of witnesses for Christ, their figured death in that character would consist, of course, in the suppression of witnessing for Him, by the extermination of most of the number, and the silencing of any feeble remnant that might still exist. Bearing which in mind let us revert to that epoch of the opening of the 16th century, down to which I before, in my last Lecture, traced a line of witnesses for Christ against Papal error and usurpation; and see how exactly all agreed in the further progress of the crisis with the Angel's description. Alike by the Papal historians and Protestant, by P. Paolo and Cardinal Pallavicino, Mosheim and Milner, the witnessing against the Papacy is described as then all but silenced, the witnesses as all but exterminated; a small and feeble remnant of the purer of the Bohemian Hussites, known chiefly under the name of the "United Brethren," seeming to be all worth

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of their history with the epoch of his own light-bearing descent on the Apocalyptic scene, and charge to St. John to prophesy again, I did not then enter ; because of its belonging rather to the subject of my present Lecture. And to it then I now proceed.

Very graphic, and very detailed, as I before intimated, was the Angel's description of the crisis. After speaking of the Beast's war against them as ending in the two witnesses' death, it represents a *gathering of deputies* from the various kindreds and people of the Beast's empire to have taken place about the time, who look on and observe it. The *local scene* of the gathering is stated to be the *πλατεια*, or *broad place*, of the great city, i. e. of *Rome* ; not Rome in the town's strictly local limits ; but rather (I conceive with Bossuet and others) Rome as the *Roman civitas*, comprehending all its subject territories : in which case the *πλατεια* must signify Rome itself locally, as being then the central place of gathering for law and for religion. Besides which designation of the locality, the Angel very singularly and pointedly designates it as *spiritually*, or *under the Spirit's teaching*, called *Sodom* and *Egypt* ; and the place too where (as once in *apostate Jerusalem*) the witnesses' Lord had been crucified. There the gathered deputies are described as gloating over the dead witnesses' corpses : (literally, corpse, in the singular :¹ the corporate and symbolic character of the two witnesses being thus indicated :)

¹ *πτωμα*. So the best MSS. It seems almost in itself a refutation of the idea of the two witnesses meaning two men singly and literally.

moreover as insulting them by forbidding their burial in any *μνημειον*, or tomb of memorial; and rejoicing, and making merry, on the festive occasion. But behold on a sudden, after $3\frac{1}{2}$ days, “the Spirit of life from God entered into them:” (the Angel here uses the past tense as if of a transaction of past time, in finishing his retrospective narrative :) “and they stood upon their feet, and great fear fell on them that beheld them.”

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So the Angel in the *prophecy*: and now see how exactly it was all answered to in the *history*.—Considering the two witnesses as the symbolie number for a small but competent number of witnesses for Christ, their figured death in that character would consist, of course, in the suppression of witnessing for Him, by the extermination of most of the number, and the silencing of any feeble remnant that might still exist. Bearing which in mind let us revert to that epoch of the opening of the 16th century, down to which I before, in my last Lecture, traced a line of witnesses for Christ against Papal error and usurpation; and see how exactly all agreed in the further progress of the crisis with the Angel’s description. Alike by the Papal historians and Protestant, by P. Paolo and Cardinal Pallavicino, Mosheim and Milner, the witnessing against the Papacy is described as then all but silenced, the witnesses as all but exterminated; a small and feeble remnant of the purer of the Bohemian Hussites, known chiefly under the name of the “United Brethren,” seeming to be all worth

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observation that remained of them.—At this epoch the 5th Lateran Council met at Rome; including deputies, clerical or lay, from most of the states of Western Christendom. It was against certain schismatic cardinals, who had attempted in synod under the French king's protection to set General Councils above Popes, that this Lateran Council was mainly summoned. Heretics and heresies, like those of the Waldenses and Bohemians of preceding centuries, seemed too nearly extinct to need such a measure. Yet, as usual, the bull of convocation mentioned among the Council's objects the total extirpation of *heresies*, as well as *schisms*; and reference was made in the early proceedings of the Council to a section of Bohemian heretics, as still recognizable.—The first eight Sessions were devoted mainly, besides matters of routine, to the healing of the French schism. Which having been successfully accomplished, attention was directed to the Bohemian remnant; a Cardinal was sent to reconcile them; and themselves summoned to appear and plead either before him, or before the Council itself at its next Session, which was fixed for May 5, 1514. That day came; the Council met again. But no witnessing delegate appeared before it from the Bohemian United Brethren; so as Waldensian deputies had once pleaded for Christ at Pamiers and elsewhere, and Huss and Jerome at Constance, or as did Luther afterwards at Worms. Moreover such was the tenor of the Cardinal's reports as to indicate, as the cause of their non-appearance,

the utter prostration of the heretics.¹ So the orator mounted the tribune; and uttered those memorable words of triumph before the deputies of Papal Christendom, which were never heard before, nor have been ever since;—"Jam nemo reclamat, nullus obsistit;" "There is an end of resistance to the Papal rule and religion; opposers are no more:" and again; "The whole body of Christendom is now seen to be subjected to its head, i. e. to thee the Pope."²—An enactment was past at the same time, that against heretics, living or dead, wherever such might be found, the old legal penalties should be enforced; among which was the exclusion of the corpses of the dead from burial.³ And soon after the Pope dismissed the Council with congratulations on its having accomplished all the objects of its assembling, including the total extirpation of heresies and schisms; and the faithful in Christendom were charged to observe on so happy an occasion all customary signs of festivity and joy.⁴—But, behold, very shortly after that memorable May 5, 1514, on which the Papal orator had pronounced his pæan of triumph for the extinction of all antagonism to the Papacy, Luther posted up his Theses on the Church at Wittemberg, the well-known commencing act and epoch of the Reformation. And what the precise interval of this from the orator's pæan of triumph? It was to a day the predicted Apocalyptic $3\frac{1}{2}$ years' period between the Witnesses'

¹ See H. A. ii. 431—433.² Ib. 433.³ Ib. 435, 436.⁴ Ib. 438.

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death and resurrection ; for the act was done on All Saints' Eve, Oct. 31, 1517.¹ Is not the coincidence wonderful ?—Moreover both Luther himself, and the Popes also, alike recognized his witness for Christ as a resurrection of the old witnesses. “The heretics Huss and Jerome seem now to be alive again,” wrote Pope Adrian, “in the person of Luther.”—And this was further most observable, that whereas the Lateran General Council, ere its separation, had again and again lauded the Roman Church as the heavenly Jerusalem, that same Luther, who once above others had so revered Papal Rome, now being *spiritually taught*, as the Apocalypse expresses it, had his eyes opened to discern it in its true and most different characteristics. With terrible power he denounced it under each and every one of the Apocalyptic similitudes here given, though apparently quite unconscious in what track he was following : i. e. as *not* the Jerusalem from heaven, but (to use Luther's own words) *the great city Babylon*, and *Sodom*, and *Egypt* ; yea and the *homicide Jerusalem* also, “by whose decrees and acts *the Lord Jesus Christ had been crucified*.”²

¹ From May 5, 1514, to May 5, 1517, is three years. Then from May 5, 1517, to Oct. 31, 1517, the reckoning stands thus in days.

May 5—31 .. 27	August .. 31	} = 180, or half 360 days : i. e. half an Apocalyptic year.
June	September 30	
July	October .. 31	

² See H. A. ii. 428. I must quote two of the extracts from Luther there given. 1. “Fuit armatus Miltitz septuaginta Brevibus Apostolicis ; ut me captum perduceret in *homicidam Jerusalem*, purpuratam illam *Babylonem*.”—2. “Ich weiss nicht ob der Papst selbst der Antichrist, oder sein Apostol ist : so elend wird von demselben Christus, das heisst die Wahrheit, in seinen dekreten verfälscht und *gekreuzigt*.”

So ended the *Angel's narrative* to St. John about his two sackcloth-robed Witnesses. He had brought it down to the epoch of his own descent on the Apocalyptic scene, and charge given to St. John (in his continuous symbolic ministerial character evidently) to "prophesy again, before kings, and nations, and tongues:" which prophesying again would seem to have coincided in fact with the two resuscitated witnesses' prophesying again; though now indeed it was to be to a wider extent, with more of publicity in the witnessing-church-worship, and with more too of apostolic order, than in the times before.—The remainder of the two Witnesses' history, as in order of time following the Angel's retrospective notice of them, was not narrated, but *acted out* on the Apocalyptic scene in vision. The cloud, in which the Angel had descended, rose upward. A voice from heaven at the same time called up the two resuscitated witnesses: and, in the sight of their enemies, they ascended up, though still sackcloth-robed, in the cloud. And then it was further added in the prophecy, "There was that same hour a great earthquake: and the tenth part of the city fell; and there were destroyed also in the earthquake seven chiliads."

A very few concluding words will suffice to show the accordance of all this too with the further history of the Reformation. At Smalcald, in the year 1530, the reforming Princes publicly united in league under the name of *Protestants*, a name from its Latin etymology tantamount to *Witnesses*. After a war be-

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tween them and Charles V, the Papal champion, the final issue having in wonderful manner resulted in their favor, they were summoned up in God's Providence to take place, even as the Papal princes, in the Imperial Council Chamber : though not so, considering the state of Christ's witnesses both there, and elsewhere in Europe, as to make them lose their sackcloth-robed character.—About the same time King Henry VIII. cast off the Papal supremacy in England ; and therewith a tenth part of the great city, or one of the ten kingdoms of the Papacy, i. e. Papal England, fell. Moreover the seven Dutch United Provinces,—each answering proportionally, not to one of the twelve tribes of the Apocalyptic professing Israel, but rather to a smaller division, such as one of the chiliads of the ancient Israelitish nation,¹—these seven chiliads were destroyed in their character of Papal fiefs.—It was by the Treaty of Munster, or Westphalia, in 1648, that the new Protestant continental States became finally recognized in the public law of Europe.—Such was the historic completing act of the great Protestant Reformation ; as it was the completing figuration of the Apocalyptic prophecy that foreshadowed it.²

¹ So Exod. xviii. 21, 25, Numb. i. 16, 1 Sam. xxiii. 23, Micah v. 2. &c. See H. A. ii. 458—460.

² For full details and illustrations, on this whole most important and interesting subject, I must beg to refer to my H. A. Part ii., Ch. viii. ix.

LECTURE III.

TEMPLE OF WITNESS OPENED IN HEAVEN.

APOC. XI. 15—19.

“AND THE SEVENTH ANGEL SOUNDED: AND THERE WERE GREAT VOICES IN HEAVEN, SAYING, ‘THE KINGDOMS OF THIS WORLD ARE BECOME THE KINGDOMS OF OUR LORD AND OF HIS CHRIST.’ AND THE TWENTY-FOUR ELDERS, WHICH SATE BEFORE GOD ON THEIR THRONES, FELL UPON THEIR FACES, AND WORSHIPPED GOD, SAYING, ‘WE GIVE THEE THANKS, O LORD GOD ALMIGHTY, WHICH ART, AND WAST, [AND ART TO COME]:¹ BECAUSE THOU HAST TAKEN TO THEE THY GREAT POWER, AND HAST REIGNED. (OR, ENTERED ON THY REIGN.) AND THE NATIONS WERE ANGRY, AND THY WRATH HATH COME, AND THE TIME OF THE DEAD THAT THEY SHOULD BE JUDGED; AND THAT THOU SHOULDEST GIVE REWARD TO THY SERVANTS THE PROPHETS, AND TO THE SAINTS, AND TO THEM THAT FEAR THY NAME, SMALL AND GREAT, AND SHOULDEST DESTROY THEM THAT DESTROY (OR CORRUPT) THE EARTH.’—AND THE TEMPLE OF GOD WAS OPENED IN HEAVEN: AND THERE WAS SEEN IN HIS TEMPLE THE ARK OF THE COVENANT: AND THERE WERE LIGHTNINGS AND THUNDERINGS AND VOICES.”

In the last preceding Lecture it was my object to set before you the first of two very notable predicted acts and epochs of advance in the history of Christ's sackcloth-robed witnesses during the reign of Antichrist, previous to their final complete and glorious triumph: that first act of advance (prefigured in Apoc. x, xi, as what was to occur under the latter half of the 6th Trumpet) consisting in some public authoritative definition and establishment of true professing Christian churches, distinctively from the

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¹ Not in the best MSS.

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false : with an accompanying elevation in power and dignity before men of the before comparatively obscure witnessing body for Christ ; though still not so (considering the whole European scene of their witnessing) as to divest them of the sackcloth-garb of mourning. And this we shewed to have had fulfilment, in every point prefigured, at the *Reformation*.—It is now my purpose to set forth from the latter part of the text their second great prefigured act of advance, in *the world-wide opening of Christ's so defined witness-Church* in Protestant Christendom, and manifestation of God's ark of the covenant within it : a prefiguration depicted in the prophecy as coincident in time with the 7th Trumpet's sounding ; and of which the historic fulfilment may be shown, if I mistake not, to have commenced, and continued onward, from the outbreak of the great French Revolution in 1790.¹—As compared with the prophecy of the Protestant Reformation, previously considered, the details of this are indeed simple and few. But the judgments of wrath against the antichristian nations, which the prophecy represents as synchronizing with this world-wide opened state of the witness-church, must also not be overlooked in my Lecture. Besides which I must also notice briefly, ere concluding, what the heavenly songs in the earlier part of my text set forth anticipatively as the glorious *ultimate* issue, under this final

¹ I take the mean of the four years which seem to include the commencing æra of the French Revolution ; 1789 being the date of the National Assembly, 1793 of the execution of the French king. So I have taken the four years at p. 290 *suprà*.

Trumpet, of the witness-church's testimony for Christ; viz. the fact of the kingdoms of this world becoming then at length the kingdoms of our God and of his Christ.—As being an event yet future, this latter subject may seem indeed not to enter directly into the thesis of the Warburton Lecturer: seeing that his duty, as defined by it, is to prove the truth of revealed religion from Scripture prophecies *already fulfilled* about the Church. Yet, indirectly, it has a very close connexion with it. Because, in order to realize the full proof which those prophecies offer of God's own Spirit having dictated them, we need to consider them, not in respect of their separate and particular fulfilment only, (so far as they may be proved to have been fulfilled,) but also as a consistent scheme, and whole, worthy of God. And, in order to this, the view they present of the destined glorious ending to the true witness for Christ, and Christ's church, is of course essential.

This premised, I proceed to my main subject in the present Lecture:—viz. the *prefiguration of the temple of witness*, or *Christ's witness-Church*, being opened in heaven, at the sounding, and during the subsequent judgments, of the 7th Trumpet; with notice of the judgments themselves inclusive.

I. And, in order to a full comprehension of the *prophetic intimations* on this head in the Apocalypse, it needs that we not only consider what was in a more general way anticipatively set forth as the judg-

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ments and issues of the *7th Trumpet*, so as in the heavenly songs of our text, at its sounding ; but also what was foreshown respecting them afterwards, more in detail, in the *seven Vials*. For it seems clear that these constituted the evolution of the *7th Trumpet*. The proof of this, which is connected with the structure of the *Apocalypse*, was passingly noticed long since in my first *Lecture on the Apocalypse*.¹ Now that we have to speak of them, it must be sketched out more fully.

It needs then but a glance at the passage with which our text is connected, and then at the *Apocalyptic* context next following, to see that after the triumphant anticipatory songs at the *7th Trumpet's* sounding, and the concomitantly-figured opening of the temple on the *Apocalyptic* scene, the course of the prefiguration was suddenly interrupted : and that, instead of any immediate evolution in dramatic act, or vision, of that destruction of the earth's corrupters, (including specially doubtless the witness-slaying Beast of the seven hills, and his allies,) which was announced as among this *Trumpet's* most prominent results, there was thereupon abruptly begun a digression to a long supplemental explanatory sketch of *the Beast's history* :—a history of him from his first rise on the throne of the seven-hilled Babylon, as successor to the seven-headed Dragon, or Pagan Roman Empire, through all his long destined 1260 years' reign, down to a preliminary announcement, first, of the destruction of himself and

¹ See p. 211.

his Babylon as imminent ; and then a figuration of the Son of man's treading the winepress of God's wrath, in that final act of judgment. The digression, which thus runs on to the consummation, occupies the whole of Chapters xii, xiii. and xiv of the Apocalypse.—Then at length, in Apoc. xv, the prophecy reverts to some earlier epoch of judgment. And to what so naturally and probably as to the point whence it had digressed, i. e. to the 7th Trumpet, and its fateful but as yet unfolded issues : the seven Vial-outpourings constituting in fact their development, just as the 7th Seal's contents had been developed under the emblem of seven successive Trumpet-soundings? That this is indeed the case, and that the vial-judgments were identical with the judgments of the 7th Trumpet, is evident from these two facts :—1st, that they are called God's *last* judgments, so as were clearly the judgments of the 7th Trumpet : 2ly, that the same scenic temple-phase accompanied both the one and the other ; viz. that of *the Apocalyptic temple appearing opened in heaven* ; the temple-phase already before spoken of, as that to which our special attention must in the present Lecture be directed.

It may be well to read the whole passage, introductory to the Vial outpourings, from Apoc. xv. “ And I saw another sign in heaven, great and marvellous : seven angels having the seven last plagues ; for in them is filled up (or completed) the wrath of God. And I saw as it were a glassy sea, mingled with fire :¹

¹ θαλασσαν ὑαλινην μεμιγμενην πυρι.

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and I saw them that had successfully separated from¹ the Beast, and his image, mark, and number, standing by the glassy sea, having harps of gold; saying, 'Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are thy ways, thou King of the nations.'² Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for thou only art holy. For all nations shall come and worship before thee; for thy judgments have been made manifest.' And after this I looked, and behold *the temple of the tabernacle of witness* [mark the expression] *was opened in heaven*: and the seven angels came out of the temple, having the seven plagues, clothed in pure and white linen, and having their breasts girded with golden girdles. And one of the four living creatures gave unto the seven angels seven golden vials, full of the wrath of God, who liveth for ever and ever. And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God, and from his power. And no man was able to enter into the temple until the seven plagues of the seven angels were fulfilled."—Such, and so similar to what had been previously exhibited on the sounding of the 7th Trumpet, was the temple phase now depicted before St. John, introductorily to the outpouring of the vial-judgments, and as continued, I presume, during it. While the song of the triumphant separatists from the Beast had also thus far the same burthen with that of the loud triumphant voices in heaven

¹ So νικωντας εκ may best be rendered. See Heinrichs ad loc.

² ὁ βασιλευς των εθνων. Such is the reading of the best MSS.

heard at the 7th Trumpet's sounding, that, as the one told anticipatively of the kingdoms of this world becoming the kingdoms of our God and of his Christ, as the final result of that Trumpet's judgments,—so the other told anticipatively of all nations coming and worshipping God, as the final result of the judgments of the seven last vials.

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So introduced there followed next forthwith the outpouring of the successive vials:—the 1st on the Beast's adherents, with the effect of a grievous sore breaking out upon them; the 2nd on the sea, turning it to blood; the 3d, with the same result, on the rivers; the 4th on the sun of the Apocalyptic firmament, causing apparently its eclipse; the 5th, on the Beast's seven-hilled throne; the 6th, on the Euphrates, whence, like a flood, the horsemen of the 6th Trumpet had issued: a vial this which resulted in the drying up of its flood; and which was followed by the issuing forth of three notable spirits of delusion on the Apocalyptic earth, from the mouths respectively of the Dragon, Beast, and False Prophet; spirits preparative of the great final politico-religious struggle.—Then finally came the outpouring of the 7th and last Vial into the atmosphere: of which the primary result is described to have been thunderings, lightnings, and an earthquake of unparalleled magnitude, involving the political tripartition of the Beast's great city Babylon: and, for its secondary result, the same great city's everlasting overthrow, in some such volcanic catastrophe as in the case of Sodom; followed by that of the Beast and his armies, on their last great

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war against Christ's truth and people, and their engulfing in the same lake of fire.—In which final judgments, let it be observed, Christ is described as *treading the winepress of God's wrath*; in evident parallelism, alike of time and subject, with his *winepress-treading of the vine of the earth* at the close of the supplemental digression before spoken of in Apoc. xii, xiii, xiv.

Thus has the whole prophecy, both as succinctly announced at the 7th Trumpet's sounding, and as more fully evolved afterwards under the Vials, been set before you. And it only remains that I make a few explanatory remarks on the intent of certain of the chief symbols in it; ere proceeding to show its apparent fulfilment in part,—more especially as respects the then manifested phase of the temple of witness, or Christian witness Church,—at the æra of the French Revolution, and thence downwards to the present time.

And 1st, as to the *glassy sea mingled with fire*, by which the harpers stood who had triumphantly separated themselves from the Beast, let me suggest that, as the songs of the harpers (like those in heaven heard on the 7th Trumpet's sounding) spoke by anticipation, even as if already accomplished, of the final judgments and issues of the seven Vials, so this graphic figuring of the scene overlooked by them may probably have been pictured with reference to that same final judgment on the Beast; whose overthrow, and that of his great city, is to be by *a molten sea of volcanic fire*, even like that which engulfed Sodom and Gomorrha.—

2ly, as regards the harpers singing both the *song of Moses* and the *song of the Lamb*, it seems to me very possible that it may be an intimation of *Jewish* converts, as well as Christians of the *Gentile Churches*, uniting in it: the song itself being evidently adopted from Israel's song, after triumphantly escaping from the hosts of Egypt, on the Eastern bank of the Red Sea.—3ly, and more especially, as regards the *temple of God* depicted as opened during the Vial's outpouring, it seems clear that that same temple must be meant which was repeatedly before noticed as standing in the Apocalyptic foreground before St. John: and in that form distinctively in which it was last before distinctively defined, under the Covenant Angel's own direction; viz. as including the altar-worshippers, but excluding the heathenizing professors of the outer court: thus indicating the reformed evangelic Churches of Christendom, distinctively from that of Rome.—Further, by the symbol of the temple's *appearing opened* must be meant a manifestation and opening of these Churches to the world, in invitation and preparation for the entrance of world-wide worshippers: just as in Isa. xxvi. 2, "Open me the gates, that the righteous nation may enter in;" and in contrast to the state of things under Abaz, who "shut up the doors of the house of the Lord, and made him altars (it is said) in every corner of Jerusalem."

I say that it was opened as if in *invitation* and *preparation* for them. For the statement that "none could enter till the seven plagues of the seven Angels

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were fulfilled," shows that the confluence of the converted nations thither was not to be till then:¹ agreeable with which is the fact, that it is not till after the outpouring of the 7th Vial, and judgment on Babylon, which is its burden, that the nations of the saved are represented in the Apocalypse as uniting in the worship of God, and coming to the light of his glory in the New Jerusalem.—Yet, again, as to the witness temple's appearing opened *in heaven*, (so *ἡνωμένη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* should be rendered, as well in Apoc. xv. 5 as in Apoc. xi. 19,) there can by this only be meant that *firmamental heaven* of political power and elevation with which so many other Apocalyptic symbols (for instance those of the woman and dragon of Apoc. xii.) were locally connected: seeing that the heaven of God's manifested throne and presence was at all times a constituent part of the Apocalyptic temple; and, consequently, not a local scene in, or within which the Apocalyptic temple could at any one particular time be said to be opened.—And let me add, in illustration of the phrase, that, whereas the temple opened *in heaven* under the 7th Trumpet is called, as was before noted, "the temple of the tabernacle of witness," implying apparently both that the cleansed temple itself, or Reformed Churches of Christendom, constituted thenceforth a prominent part of the witnessing, and this too in a state of heavenly elevation, so, correspondingly, Christ's two sackcloth-robed witnesses, who thenceforward were thus to be associated

¹ Vitringa seems to me to have erred on this point.

with the Apocalyptic temple, had been depicted in the last previous figuration as ascended, still in their witness character, to the Apocalyptic heaven.—As to what is said of the *ark of the covenant* appearing, we may remember how St. Paul reminds us that the Israelitish ark enclosed both the tables of the law, and Aaron's rod that budded,—significant symbols of the law and the gospel; and also that its manifested presence was recognized in the Old Testament history, (e. g. in that of Eli and the Philistines,) to be a visible pledge of the divine protection to Israel, if not unfaithful to Him.¹—Finally, the symbol of the temple's appearing *filled with the smoke of God's glory* is borrowed evidently from similar manifestations made in the older Israelitish temple, on various remarkable occasions, in token of God's presence and protection: e. g. those of the dedication by Moses and Solomon; and that of the attack on its worship and its ministers by Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. Somewhat as it was said in Isaiah of millennial times, "The Lord will create upon Mount Zion, and on her assemblies, a cloud of smoke by day, and the shining of a flaming fire by night: for upon all the glory there shall be a defence."

¹ Hengstenberg on the Apoc. i. 447, thus explains the whole symbol. "The temple in heaven is a symbol of the Church; the ark of the covenant a symbol of the gracious relationship in which the Lord stands to his Church. That it has become visible, imports that this relation is now in a glorious manner maintained, and becomes manifest to view."—He has overlooked the important fact that in the original it is not "*the temple in heaven*" that is said to be opened, but that "*the temple was opened in heaven.*"

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¹ Hengstenberg on the Apoc. i. 447, thus explains the whole symbol. "The temple in heaven is a symbol of the Church; the ark of the covenant a symbol of the gracious relationship in which the Lord stands to his Church. That it has become visible, imports that this relation is now in a glorious manner maintained, and becomes manifest to view."—He has overlooked the important fact that in the original it is not "*the temple in heaven*" that is said to be opened, but that "*the temple was opened in heaven.*"

So much as to the *prophetic figurations*.

II. And now we have to ask, secondly, was there that which answered to this prophecy, and its several prefigurations, in *the history of the reformed Protestant Churches, and of Roman Christendom, during the æra of the French Revolution*; dating from its first outbreak in 1790, down to the present time?—I think there was; and, in respect of much that is most marked in the prophecy, that which answered very strikingly. Though, at the same time, I wish distinctly to state, that as the prophecy is much less full and particular than that concerning the Reformation, which was the subject of my last Lecture, so the conviction I would express as to its fulfilment in the times and events of the French Revolution, is one proportionally less strong and unreserved.

To begin;—the *time* of the first outbreak of the French Revolution well suits the chronological place of the 7th Trumpet's sounding in the Apocalyptic prophecy: supposing my explanation to be correct of the witnesses' resurrection and ascent, and of the accompanying fall of the tenth part of the great city of Papal Babylon, and other notable seven chiliads of it, as meant of the political consolidation of the Protestant Reformation, by the successful separation of England, and the seven Dutch United Provinces, from the Poppedom. For whereas, in the prophecy, there intervened only after this a notice of the 2nd Woe having past, and of the 3rd Woe coming quickly, before the 7th Trumpet's sounding,—so, in European his-

tory, there began from soon after Spain's acknowledgment of the independence of the Dutch Protestant United Provinces in the celebrated Treaty of Westphalia, A.D. 1648, a manifest and constantly progressing decay in the great Turkish power : a decay illustrated by the victories of Sobieski and Prince Eugene over the Turks in the last quarter of the xviith century, and those again of the Russians and Austrians in the wars from 1769 to 1787 ; almost immediately after which last war, all suddenly and unexpectedly, there sounded forth in the year 1789 the blast of the French Revolution, in the ears of affrighted Europe. —Further, as regards the *Vial-plagues* themselves, in which the 7th Trumpet was developed, and which followed each other in brief and rapid succession, we need but a rapid glance to see how well the chief eventful acts and judgments of the French Revolution, and its historic sequel answered to them.—The noisome sore, or ulcer, which on the 1st Vial's outpouring broke out on them that worshipped the Beast and its image, was surely no inapt symbol of that eruption of revolutionary fanaticism, vice, and atheism, (the natural produce of the corrupt principles of morals and religion that Jesuitism had long taught in the countries of Papal Christendom,) which then broke forth upon, and tortured, the whole social body in France and other Roman Catholic European countries. Indeed observant men, whether there, in England, or in Germany, could find no more suitable figure under which to depict it. Said the French Father Lambert of the

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state of Papal Christendom, as he contemplated it from the centre of the outbreak in Paris ; “ It is like a diseased man covered with ulcers.” Said Mr. Burke ; It is a disease the effect of which, wherever established, is “ the corruption of all morals, and decomposition of all society ;” even like “ living ulcers in the carcase of the country.”—And, as to the range of the infection, the famous Niebuhr thus defines it, in precise accord with the Apocalyptic limitation of the sufferers from the noisome sore of the 1st Vial ; “ The Revolution of 1789 was the breaking out of a local disease peculiar to the Roman Catholic nations of Southern Europe :” for “ in the rest of Europe it never showed its real malignity ; which was exclusively proper to the countries where it was indigenous, viz. France, and the South of Europe.”¹—The 2nd Vial, which turned the sea of the Apocalyptic or Roman world into blood, even as of a dead man, might seem (if the local symbols are to be locally interpreted, so as under the Trumpets, and in other such prophecies,) ² to have had its fulfilment in the destruction of the maritime and colonial power of France and Spain, (the two great maritime powers of Papal Christendom,) a destruction commenced in the naval wars with England : and the 3rd, or Vial of blood on the rivers and fountains of water, in the series of bloody wars between France and Austria on the same river-lines of the Rhine,

¹ So Bunsen reports. See Preface to 3rd Vol. of *Life and Letters of Niebuhr* ; translated by Miss Winkworth (1852), p. xxvi.

² See p. 232 *suprà*, and the references there given to the H. A.

Danube, and Po, that were notable long before under the 3rd Trumpet, as the fated scene of carnage in the wars of the Hun Attila.—The 4th Vial, poured upon the sun, would seem fitly to symbolize the quenching of the imperial orb of the German or Holy Roman Empire in 1806; with extinction, nearly contemporarily, of all the old ruling dynasties of Papal Christendom, by the conqueror Napoleon: and the 5th, (a very distinctive one,) “upon the throne of the Beast,” to have figured the quickly following suppression of the Pope’s temporal power on Rome’s seven hills by the same Emperor’s Decrees of Schönbrunn and Vienna, after the battle of Wagram, A.D. 1809, the incorporation of Rome with the French Empire, and captivity and exile of the Pope.—Then next in the prophecy came the 6th Vial on the Euphrates, whereby its overflow of waters was dried up: and in history the drying up, in considerable measure, of the empire of the Turks from the Euphrates:—a drying up alike from internal causes of decay, from the Greek insurrection, and from the external aggressions of France and Russia; by the one of which it was robbed of its Trans-Danubian provinces, by the other of Algiers, in the decade of years from 1820 to 1830.—And if, in the Apocalyptic visions, there followed next the very remarkable emblem of the going forth of three spirits of delusion, like frogs, from the mouths of the Dragon, Beast, and two-horned lamb-like False Prophet, in order to stir up a last war imperilling Christ’s cause and gospel, I shall have presently to show the acting of

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something very like their counterparts in the last 20 years' history of European Christendom.—Nor can we forget the later extraordinary commotions of 1848 : which startled the world afresh ; and made many to think whether perchance they might not indicate to us the commencement of what followed next in the Apocalyptic prophecy, viz. the outpouring of the 7th Vial. I say its commencement. The end is not yet.

But what meanwhile of the Apocalyptic symbol of the *temple of God appearing all this time opened in heaven, and manifestation therein of the ark of the covenant* ;—that symbolization of the 7th Trumpet with which my present subject is most of all concerned ? In other words was there then, and thenceforth, *an opening to the world*, in influence and power unknown before, of the *Protestant reformed Churches*, and the *evangelic truth confest by them* ? We all know that this was the fact. It was amidst the storms and earthquake of the first French Revolution that those Protestant Bible and Missionary Societies arose which have continued in operation ever since ; and which have been main instruments of the spreading of the Bible, and preaching of the gospel subsequently, almost to the ends of the world.—I say, distinctively, of *Protestant Missions*. For we must not forget the contrast of the Roman Catholic propagandist missions of the 16th and following centuries. It needs but to consult the original reports of their proceedings, such even as the letters of Fr. Xavier himself, to see that in their case there was anything but the

preaching of the everlasting gospel, anything but the manifestation of the evangelic truth signified by the ark of the covenant.—Now, during that long period of the 17th and 18th centuries, the Evangelic Protestant Churches did but little for the making known the gospel truth, of which they were the especial depository, to other nations of the world. The necessary zeal was wanting ; and, in considerable measure, the means and opportunities. Under William of Orange, and Queen Anne, the Societies for the Propagation of the Gospel and for Christian Knowledge were indeed formed, and began the holy work of Christian missions. But they were but feebly supported. And the failure from the same cause of the noble-minded Bishop Berkeley's scheme for a mission college at Bermuda, with a view to the religious instruction of the heathen in the West Indies and North America, is a fact too well known ; and which has lately been set forth in his interesting work on the History of the Colonial Church by your own chaplain.—But, at the trumpet-blast of the French Revolution, a new æra opened. Religion revived in England,—in England the chief seat of Protestantism ; and which in God's providence, was destined to be his chief instrument for extending its knowledge to other lands. With returning religion, the missionary spirit was awakened. The new Protestant Missionary and Bible Societies, just alluded to, were then established ; the old invigorated. And their evangelizing operations have been enlarged and multiplied, from year to

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year, during the half century that has since elapsed ; until at length there is scarce a heathen land to which the Bible has not been brought in its own language, the evangelic temple opened, and that which the ark of the covenant symbolized been made apparent.—The strength and security furnished to the missions by the maritime supremacy assured to England, through God's great and undeserved mercy, both during, and subsequent to, the tremendous wars of the French revolution and empire, and by its vast and ever-increasing colonial empire, is a matter obvious. "The temple of God appeared opened *in heaven* ;" and upon all the glory there has been a defence.—How different from the weakness of individual effort, with which the testimony for Christ's truth was carried on in the middle ages ! It has been the Lord's doing, and may well be marvellous in our eyes.

I must not omit to observe that the close of the revolutionary wars, by the Peace of Paris, constituted an epoch specially important in England's missionary relations to the Papal States of the European continent. The sending forth of the everlasting gospel, and opening of the temple of God, had been previously almost alone to heathen countries, and to the decayed and corrupted Christian Churches of the East. But now *Papal Christendom* was to have the Bible and its gospel message brought influentially before its several constituent peoples ; alike in France, Spain, Italy, Southern Germany. And this at a

time when the severe judgments of the twenty-five years of war preceding might perhaps have been expected to have their intended effect : the effect of inducing repentance for their national apostacy, and inclining them to turn to the purer faith and worship now set before them. But in the prophecy it was stated as the result of the five first Vial-plagues, poured out on those that had worshipped the Beast, that, amidst the darkness and suffering thence arising, there would be no cessation from the blasphemies wherewith they had provoked God, no repenting of their idolatries. And this prophetic statement seems to have had fulfilment in the fact that, after the ending of the revolutionary war-plagues at the Peace of Paris, in 1815, there was not one of the Papal European states that then renounced its old blasphemous and idolatrous apostacy.—Again, after the effusion a little later of the 6th Vial on a different quarter, that of the Euphrates, it was foretold that, instead of repenting and embracing the still offered gospel, there would on the contrary be then at length a direct combination against it :—a combination of the spirit of the old Roman Pagan infidelity with that of direct Popery, and that of superstitious priestcraft ; “ three spirits like frogs, from the mouth of the Dragon, and mouth of the Beast, and mouth of the False Prophet.” And have there been no such spirits of late years, as well in England as on the continent : united by the one common principle of hostility to the pure gospel of Jesus Christ ; and which, besides the

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use of specious arguments and reasoning, have already in various instances influenced the ruling secular powers against gospel truth, and may do so yet more powerfully in the quickly coming future?¹ The names of De Maistre, Möhler, and others nearer home once before referred to,² exemplify the acting of one of these spirits. Demonstrably as the principles on which it rests are principles of delusion,³ its measure of success, in an age of general enlightenment like that of the 19th century, can only be accounted for by that power among men which Holy Scripture so much refers to, of the invisible deluding spirits of darkness.⁴ In truth, however anxious to think and say nothing in violation of the spirit of Christian charity, we yet seem forced to the conclusion that both by Papal Rome herself, and by the princes in Western Europe that yield her religious allegiance, the manifestation and offer of Christ's gospel truth has not only been rejected, but been further the occasion of the stirring up of their more direct and bitter enmity against it. — Such seems indeed to be the state of things at the time now present. Witness the reports from Naples,

¹ Considering the strong fraternization of the spirit of priestcraft (abstractedly regarded) with the Greek Church, I cannot but suggest as remarkable the manner in which, since this Lecture was preached, a war that threatens to involve all Europe has arisen immediately out of a dispute between the chief heads of the Papal and Greek Churches for power over the holy places at Jerusalem.

² See p. 296 *suprà*.

³ See my pp. 178—191 *suprà*, on the palpable falsehood of Rome's fundamental dogma of the Pope's supremacy, as being Peter's successor in the see of Rome : also my letter to Mr. Gresley in the Appendix.

⁴ See pp. 98, 99 *suprà*.

Rome, Tuscany, Austria, Spain, Portugal, (including its colony of Madeira,)¹ and even France, of the Bible-proscriptions and burnings; the general interdiction in Papal Europe of Protestant missionaries and Protestant public worship; the advocacy in influential Roman Catholic writings of a renewal of the penalty of death against what they call heresy; and actual infliction on Bible Christians of imprisonment and exile.—And what then is to be the end?

It is well to be observed in that history of his dealings with men which God himself has given us, that to nations called to be his own, but which have nationally departed from Him, a last day of special grace and opportunity for repentance seems generally to be granted in his Providence, ere (in case of its non-improvement) wrath comes upon them to the uttermost. It was after the book of the law, long hid, had been brought to light under Josiah, and his call of the Jews to repentance and reformation, though at first and whilst he lived responded to, been yet afterwards, on his wicked son's accession, despised and rejected,—it was then, I say, that God's sentence of rejection of that generation of Jews was past, and Nebuchadnezzar sent as his instrument of wrath against them. It was after Christ himself, and then his apostles, had for forty years set the light of life all vainly before a later generation of the same Jewish

¹ See the deeply interesting history of the preaching of the gospel in Madeira, some short time since, by Dr. Kalley and Mr. Hewitson, in Hewitson's Life.

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people, that the Romans were commissioned against Jerusalem as his ministers of judgment, to level her to the ground, and her children within her. "Because I would have purged thee, and thou wast not purged, thou shalt not be purged from thy filthiness any more, till I have caused my fury to rest upon thee."¹ Is there not something similar to this, indeed yet more awful, that seems predicted of, and even now applicable to, the seven-hilled Papal Babylon?

I conclude, as my purpose was intimated at the beginning of this Lecture, with a brief look into *the future*, as set forth in the sequel of the Apocalyptic prophecy; its awful future on the one hand, its bright and glorious on the other.—It is a consummation that we must look to with the deeper interest, if under the impression of its being probably not very far off: so as my historic explanation of the 7th Trumpet, and its evolving Vials, if at all correct, would lead us to suppose. And I must say that this is corroborated both by the fact of the 1260 years from the Papal Antichrist's rise to power having apparently well nigh fulfilled their course;² the fact of the Gospel having now apparently been preached for a witness to all people, which fact Christ himself spoke of as a sign of the end approaching;³ and other signs of the times, concerning

¹ Ezek. xxiv. 13.² See p. 291 *suprà*.³ Matt. xxiv. 14. Let me beg to refer the reader to a Sermon of Bishop Butler's, preached before the Society for Propagation of the Gospel, on this text.

both Jews and Gentiles, which it is not now the time to detail.¹ At the same time the point is one on which it would ill become me to dogmatize. The exact day and hour are known to no man. What I now wish to do is simply that which is enjoined on us; viz. to mark the signs of the times, and consider the probable evidence given by them of the event being *near at hand*.

Next then after the outpouring into the air of the 7th Vial, and a statement (much to be noted at the present time) of the tripartition thereupon occurring of the great city, or Roman Papal empire, as its primary political result,—and then that graphic explanatory picturing of Rome Papal before St. John, of which I spoke in a former Lecture,¹ as a Woman seated on a seven-headed ten-horned Beast, herself drunk with the blood of the saints of Jesus, and holding out the cup of her religious fornication or apostacy, (just, we saw, as the Pope's own last Jubilean medal has in fact depicted Papal Rome,)—next after this, I say, followed that terrible vision of her destruction, to which allusion was also made in the concluding Lecture of my last Triad. On the descent of the destroying Angel a loud cry was heard, “Come out from her my people, that ye be not partakers of her plagues, for her sins have reached to heaven: a warning-cry” like that spoken by the Angel to Lot in Sodom, and that by Moses to the Israelites round the tents of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram; and which was

¹ See the detail in my Vol. iv. of the H. A. pp. 215—242.

² See p. 281.

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indicative of two things: 1st, that there would be even then some of the holy seed in the mystic Babylon; 2nd, that their danger of participation in its destruction, whether through mistakes of judgment or sluggish lingering, would be extreme and imminent.—Then next came a description of the catastrophe, just as if related to some living saint by one that beheld it:—a description indicating the *suddenness and instantaneousness* of the catastrophe, as falling on Babylon when least expected, and begun and completed in an hour; its *manner*, with violence like as of the shock of a millstone hurled into the waters; and its *instrumentality of fire*, eternal fire, whereof the smoke goeth up for ever and for ever. All which so strongly points to Rome's territorial destruction by volcanic fire, (much like that whereby so many earlier geological catastrophes have been accomplished, of which the memorial still remains visible on our earth's crust,) that I do not see how we can well be mistaken in expecting it. Moreover it is an expectation in which the most learned of the ancient Jewish Rabbis, judging from sundry parallel prophecies in the Old Testament, and the most learned too of the ancient Christian fathers, have in fact preceded us.—As to the Beast himself, and his confederates, gathered together perhaps on some council, or some expedition, in their last great war against Christian truth, outside the region of Babylon's catastrophe, it would seem as if, besides some terrible judgment of the sword, a second shock of the volcanic earthquake was destined to

engulph them ; for it is said that they were cast alive into the lake of fire burning with brimstone. A consummation this well according with what had been fore-shown to the prophet Daniel ; viz. how that the body of the 4th Beast, or Roman Empire, in its last ten-horned form, was to be given to the burning flame.—And then a burst of praise was heard to break from a great multitude in heaven ; saying, “ Alleluia ! The salvation, and the glory, and the power, be unto our God ! For true and righteous are his judgments : for he hath judged the great whore which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand.—And her smoke rose up for ever and for ever.”

And then what next ? Blessed, my brethren, is now the change of both scene and subject. “ I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, saying, Alleluia, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth.” Behold Christ’s kingdom is figured as come ; and our earth’s long expected jubilee under it as at length begun.—And then it was added, “ Let us be glad, and rejoice, and give honor to him ; for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his Wife hath made herself ready. And to her was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white ; for the white linen is the righteousness of saints.”—Very beautiful, Brethren, is the description afterwards given of the *Lamb’s Wife*, under the emblem of the *New Jerusalem*. And fitly and joyfully I may point your attention to it, as the bright terminating point in the

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perspective of prophecy respecting that which has been so long my subject, *the Christian Church*.—But oh! how different her aspect and fortune, at that blessed time of the consummation, from any under which either prophecy had before depicted, or history realized her! No more does she appear, so as before even in her best previous state, and from the very time of her first formation, with tares intermixt among the wheat, false among the true. She is freed from all the false, and has none but real saints in her visible constituency.—No more, as once, does *imperfection* attach even to these her true members. They are drest in purest white linen, the symbol of the perfected righteousness of the saints.—Further, the liability no more belongs to her of being *broken* and *divided* into different sects, albeit of the faithful: so as when the Woman, the faithful professing Catholic Church, past away from man's sight into the wilderness, in her character of a united visible impersonatrix of the faithful; and only left separate broken bodies of her children to be witnesses for Christ, during the long reign of Antichrist. There has now begun the fulfilment of Christ's petition for the unity of his Church, "That they all may be *one*; as thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be *one in us*:"—a unity of which I pray you to mark the source and centre, "*one in us*!"—Yet again, no more as so often previously, is she to appear suffering from persecution, temptation, and trial. The time of her children's witnessing in sackcloth is ended. The evil of sin, and enmity of its author against the blessed

God, has been now sufficiently exhibited before men and angels; ¹ as also, through his sustaining grace, the faith and patience of the saints. Her persecutors are destroyed: she is where trial and sorrow come not: God himself has wiped away all tears from the eye. —Yet again she is no more liable, as once, to any temporary spiritual cloud and darkness. “There shall be no night there.” Nor has she any more need, as once, of the aid of earthly ordinances, or an earthly temple of worship. Her communion with God, and beatific vision of Him, is now direct, constant, perfect: “I saw no temple therein; for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it.”—The earth itself, moreover, is to sympathize in the change. The curse is removed. The creation, which now groaneth and travaileth as it were in pain, is then itself also to be delivered from the bondage of corruption, at this manifestation of the sons of God.² There is to be a new heaven and new earth; prepared even from the foundation of the world, through a succession of ages of geological change,³ to be the fit local scene of the kingdom of Christ and his saints.

Such, brethren, is the ending foreshown in prophecy as destined for *Christ's faithful Church*. Is it not a glorious ending? Oh! that we may all of us belong in heart to it in its militant state here; and so not fail of participating in the blessedness and glory assured to it for ever hereafter! Amen!

¹ See p. 98 *supra*.

² Rom. viii. 19—22.

³ Matt. xxv. 34.—On the geological changes by which this earth has been prepared for man's present habitation, preliminarily to its future better state, see *Plurality of Worlds*, chs. vi, x, and xiii. See too P. Smith's *Geology*, p. 77.

LECTURE XIII.

SUMMARY OF PROPHETIC EVIDENCE.

APOC. XXI. 5—8.

“AND HE THAT SATE UPON THE THRONE SAID, BEHOLD I MAKE ALL THINGS NEW.—AND HE SAID UNTO ME, WRITE ; FOR THESE WORDS ARE TRUE AND FAITHFUL. AND HE SAID UNTO ME, IT IS DONE. I AM ALPHA AND OMEGA, THE BEGINNING AND THE END. I WILL GIVE UNTO HIM THAT IS ATHIRST OF THE FOUNTAIN OF THE WATER OF LIFE FREELY. HE THAT OVERCOMETH SHALL INHERIT ALL THINGS ; AND I WILL BE HIS GOD, AND HE SHALL BE MY SON. BUT THE FEARFUL,¹ AND UNBELIEVING, AND THE ABOMINABLE, AND MURDERERS, AND WHOREMONGERS, AND SORCERERS, AND IDOLATERS, AND ALL LIARS, SHALL HAVE THEIR PART IN THE LAKE WHICH BURNETH WITH FIRE AND BRIMSTONE, WHICH IS THE SECOND DEATH.”

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“BEHOLD, I make all things new.” Such was the Saviour’s remark, expressive of his divine complacency in the completed work of redemption : when the Apocalyptic prefigurations of the future had had their ending in the vision of the New Jerusalem, (that symbol of the perfected Church of the redeemed,) descending from heaven all beautiful, like a bride adorned for her husband ; and with the regeneration of this our lower earth, as its blessed accompaniment. And then, in retrospective view of the great providential scheme of the future, which had been all thus prophetically unfolded to St. John, he added those observations which make up the re-

¹ δειλοι. The word implies both *sllothfulness*, and *improper fear*, or *cowardice*.

mainder of my text :—" Write, for these words are true and faithful. It is done. I am Alpha and Omega. I will give to him that is athirst of the water of life freely. He that overcometh shall inherit all things. But the fearful, and unbelieving, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the second death." In which observations four points stand forth separately and prominently for notice :—1st, his view of Scripture prophecy as constituting altogether one consistent whole, ending in man's perfected redemption, "*It is done :*"—2dly, his view, from the anticipated stand-point of the consummation, of the truth of each and every prophecy shadowed forth to St. John,¹ as what would then at length have been verified by its fulfilment :—3rdly, his representation of the scheme, so predicted and verified, as that in which he would himself be glorified, as the Alpha and Omega of redemption, the beginning and the end :—4thly, his declaration of its being that in which, all consistently with his own glory, there would be an answering both to the deepest spiritual cravings of man's heart, and deepest convictions, on the great matter of sin and holiness, of man's conscience : the water of life being set forth as the meed of each spiritually thirsting soul that might seek it from him ; but exclusion from life, and the penalty of the second death, as the meed of un-

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believers, falsehood-lovers, idolaters, slothful, and all other such as should determinately reject, or neglect, the grace offered them in the gospel.

Now it seems to me that these several points may be regarded as alike strikingly and comprehensively marking the divine and quite peculiar character of Scripture prophecy. And as, in this concluding Lecture of my course, it is my purpose to glance retrospectively over the prophetic field that we have traversed, with special reference (in accordance with Bishop Warburton's injunction) to the evidence that Scripture prophecy offers of its own divine origin, and so of the divine origin of Christianity, it seems to me that I can scarcely do this better than by uniting together in one view its *structural*, *historical*, and *moral* evidence, so as set forth in my text. Thus it will be my object, 1st, to impress on your minds the divine evidence of Scripture prophecy from its *unity*, *consistency*, and *continuity*, as unfolding ever one and the same grand connected Providential scheme: 2ndly, looking back from the stand-point of our present position in the world's eventful drama, (a stand-point not indeed at the consummation, but apparently not very far from it,) to argue this from the exactness of its *fulfilment* in historic fact, down to the present time; more especially as illustrated in some of the more remarkable prophecies whose fulfilment has been traced out in the foregoing Lectures: 3rdly, to suggest further the twofold *moral* evidence of the divine inspiration of Scripture prophecy; from the fact that

the scheme which it sets forth is one *glorificatory throughout of the God-man Christ Jesus*, and one too that *answers to the deepest requirements alike of the heart and of the conscience of man*.—May God's own Spirit guide and bless us in the discussion !

LECT.
XIII.

I. My primary argument for the divine inspiration of Scripture prophecy is to be drawn from its *consistency and continuity*, as the gradual unfolding of *one great scheme and whole*.—It is the profound remark of Pascal that, as truth is perpetual, the characteristic of perpetuity must attach to the true religion, and to none other.¹ The same remark is applicable to the *prophecies* of that which is really a divinely instituted religion. It will not suffice to a reasonable mind that there should be offered in proof simply detached, and comparatively unimportant predictions, even though verified by fact ; such as some recorded of the famous Delphic oracle,² of Roman augurs,³ or that might, perhaps, be extracted from the Koran of Mahomet. The prophetic scheme of a divine religion ought to date surely from man's creation ; announcing, even thus early, God's grand general purpose respecting our world : and then gradually to unfold more and more of that purpose, as time might pro-

¹ "Pour reconnaître quel est le vrai, il n'y a qu'à voir quel est celui qui y a toujours été : car il est certain que le vrai y a toujours été, et qu'aucun faux n'y a toujours été." And again ; "Nulle autre religion n'a la perpétuité, qui est la principale marque de la vérité." *Pensées*, ch. ii.

² E. g. those told in Cræsus' history.

³ E. g. Varro's, explaining the 12 vultures seen by Romulus to signify the 12 destined centuries of Rome's empire.

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believers, falsehood-lovers, idolaters, slothful, and all other such as should determinately reject, or neglect, the grace offered them in the gospel.

Now it seems to me that these several points may be regarded as alike strikingly and comprehensively marking the divine and quite peculiar character of Scripture prophecy. And as, in this concluding Lecture of my course, it is my purpose to glance retrospectively over the prophetic field that we have traversed, with special reference (in accordance with Bishop Warburton's injunction) to the evidence that Scripture prophecy offers of its own divine origin, and so of the divine origin of Christianity, it seems to me that I can scarcely do this better than by uniting together in one view its *structural*, *historical*, and *moral* evidence, so as set forth in my text. Thus it will be my object, 1st, to impress on your minds the divine evidence of Scripture prophecy from its *unity*, *consistency*, and *continuity*, as unfolding ever one and the same grand connected Providential scheme: 2ndly, looking back from the stand-point of our present position in the world's eventful drama, (a stand-point not indeed at the consummation, but apparently not very far from it,) to argue this from the exactness of its *fulfilment* in historic fact, down to the present time; more especially as illustrated in some of the more remarkable prophecies whose fulfilment has been traced out in the foregoing Lectures: 3rdly, to suggest further the twofold *moral* evidence of the divine inspiration of Scripture prophecy; from the fact that

the scheme which it sets forth is one *glorificatory throughout of the God-man Christ Jesus*, and one too that *answers to the deepest requirements alike of the heart and of the conscience of man*.—May God's own Spirit guide and bless us in the discussion !

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gress ; with minor predictions branching out from, but still connected with, the main grand scheme of divine prophecy.—Now this is precisely the character of Scripture prophecy ; and I may say that there is no other religion in the world that can pretend to prophetic evidence anything like it. Most strikingly does this appear in regard to its grandest and most prominent theme, *the Redeemer promised*: nor, as I now propose to show, shall we fail to discover it in regard even of the subordinate subject, which has so much occupied us in these Lectures, of *the Redeemer's Church*.

It was at man's fall in Paradise, we saw long since,¹ that Scripture prophecy began ; and that it began with the annunciation of God's purpose (a purpose worthy indeed of Himself, and which the creation, already groaning and travailing in pain, might seem to call for) of remedying the terrible evil, undoing the work of the enemy, and restoring our fallen world. "The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head." And then, in what was added, this was observable :—that the redemption promised was to have its accomplishment not at once, but at some future time, more or less distant, ere which the human family would have multiplied, and the penalty of sin have been in part experienced :² and that meanwhile a *human* element, as well as a divine, was to be involved in the carrying out of the promise ; not only because

¹ See p. 37.

² "In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children." "Thorns also and thistles shall the earth bring forth. In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread, till thou return to the ground whence thou wast taken."

of the specially predicted seed being *the seed of the woman*, whatever otherwise his nature, but also because, as seemed intimated, the ministration not of angels, but of some of the woman's seed, would be used to keep up among men the testimony of the promised Saviour. Between whom and the Tempter's seed it seemed too there would be a perpetual enmity; ("I will put enmity between thy seed and her seed:") our earth being thus marked out as the battle-field of the opposing principles.—If in that primeval prediction the fact of human ministration being intended for the purpose specified might seem but obscurely hinted, it was made evident immediately after by God's recognition of Abel, and then afterwards of Enoch and of Noah, as his witnesses in the world, preachers of righteousness, and ministers of a certain ritualistic religion, significant of the great intended author and mode of salvation. Connected with whom were all such as recognized and accepted God's scheme of redemption, so announced and prefigured: all constituting together, even thus early, distinctively from those who repudiated it, the *visible and professed εκκλησια*, or *church of God*.

Thus from the beginning, was the treasure of God's covenant of redemption set forth as to be committed, for keeping and promulgation, to the earthen vessels of an *earthly ministry and church*; as also the deadly hostility of the Evil One against that church: which yet, by his covenant, God seemed pledged to perpetuate.—Bear in mind, brethren, these several points,

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expressed or implied in the primeval prophecy. And it will then be seen by you that every thing that we have had to develop in these Lectures about *the Church* from Scripture prophecies, is but an expansion of, or ramification from it: with just that consistency and continuity in them, which we have stated to be a characteristic of that religion which is divine.

Thus, reverting to the *first* triad of my Lectures, we marked how the Jewish prophet Isaiah, taking up the thread of prophecy at a time when already much light had been thrown on the primeval promise of the great promised seed, both as to his divine as well as human nature, and also as to his intended birth, according to the flesh, of the *Abrahamic, or Jewish race*, now nationally organized as *God's professed church and people*, conformably with a promise originally made to Abraham,—added this further to previous prophetic annunciations respecting that people:—that on Messiah's at length appearing in human form among them, (born not indeed as other men, but of a pure virgin,) the Jews, because of his appearing in humiliation and without worldly pomp and splendour, instead of recognizing him as Emmanuel, God with them, or appreciating the surpassing moral glory of such voluntary humiliation in God's elect one, would yield themselves to the influence of a deceiving spirit,¹ and disbelieve, reject, kill him: though only so indeed as to carry out what was the very essence of God's purpose for our redemption concerning him; viz. that he

¹ Is. xxix. 10.

should give his life an offering for sin, then act as intercessor at his right hand in power.¹ Hence *their* predicted rejection from being God's church and people. But, instead of the Tempter, by this misleading of the mass of the Jews, effecting the annihilation of God's church of witness, it was further declared by Isaiah that the Lord would choose out to himself, and enlighten, a new people from the Gentiles : (very chiefly from out of the *Gentiles of the isles*, or Gentile nations round the Mediterranean :) to take the place of the temporarily unbelieving Jews ; and, in union with the few faithful among the latter, to re-constitute, and continue in a new form, his Church of witness on the earth. Just as was said also by Isaiah's contemporary prophet Hosea, " I will make them my people that were not my people, and her beloved that was not beloved."—So was the purpose of the enemy on this head set forth as to be frustrated. God's Church of witness, instead of being destroyed, was to be enlarged. The vineyard was to be given to others to cultivate, during the parenthesis of Jewish rejection and desolation.² The stem of the olive-tree of his planting was to remain alive ; and, though its old branches had been broken off, yet new ones were to be grafted in.³ The continuity of God's Providential scheme, I say, was thus, according to Isaiah, to be still kept up ; and the hopes of an ending in the new heaven and new

¹ See pp. 49, 54 *suprà*. So Isa. liii. 12, Dan. ix. 24.

² Compare Isa. v. 5—7 and Matt. xxi. 41, 43.

³ Compare Jer. xi. 16 and Rom. xi. 17—24.

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earth of a restored paradise, according to the primeval promise, not to be made void.¹

And what the fortunes, as foretold in Scripture prophecy, of God's Church of witness after this embracing of the Gentiles? A similar course of conflict and temptation, originating from the same great enemy of man, was indicated.—Already some two centuries after Isaiah, and five before the birth of that Jesus of Nazareth whom New Testament Scripture designates as the promised seed of the woman, God's anointed Messiah, the prophet Daniel had seemed to intimate that the Messianic or Christian Church, as then anew constituted, would after a while (though still professedly Christian) in great part lapse into apostacy : and that it would have for its head, in this pseudo-Christian state, a self-deifying chief of mighty power ;² the same evidently with the one symbolized by him in another prophecy,³ as a little horn dominating over ten other horns, or princes, of the fourth great empire of the world, i. e. the Roman, in its latter and divided state. In which other prophecy it was also stated that this his antichristian and saint-persecuting kingdom would continue till, and only be destroyed by, Messiah's advent in glory, to establish on its ruins his own promised kingdom of blessedness.—So, I say, the prophet Daniel. And what said those later prophecies respecting the future phases and fortunes of the Christian Church which were long afterwards delivered

¹ See Is. lxy. 17, lxvi. 22.

² See pp. 105—108 *suprà*.

³ Dan. vii. 8, 24, 25.

by Jesus Christ himself, and by his apostles Paul and John; the same that were the subjects respectively of my *second* and *third* courses of Lectures? It was all in accordance with Daniel's.—Thus Jesus himself spoke of his kingdom, or professing Church, as like a field in which, after the good seed sowing, there would be a sowing of bad also: (“the enemy would do this:”) of tares, the children of the wicked one; as well as wheat, the children of God: (an intermixture that would necessarily involve an apostacy of the Church, in case of the tares outnumbering the wheat:) and which Christ represented as continuing even to the consummation, and introduction of his kingdom of glory.—Soon afterwards St. Paul told of the seeds of apostacy as then already sown in the professing Church: and how they would go on working therein with more and more effect; until, so soon as a certain let, or hindrance, were removed, (a let declaredly understood by the early Christians to be the Roman power, in its then undivided state, under the emperors,) there would be unfolded a dominant head to the apostacy, well answering in respect of character, continuance, and mode of destruction by Messiah's advent in glory, to the little horn of Daniel.—Further, by St. John the subject was treated much more at large: and multitudinous details predicted respecting the same apostate Church, empire, and head, to whom “the Devil would give his power and great authority:”¹ details very numerous, very particular, and

¹ Apoc. xiii. 2.

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many of them quite new. But here too, on examination, it will be found but an expansion of Daniel's prophecy; and all in the most perfect consistency with it.

The same may be predicated of that which was the subject of my *fourth* triad of Lectures, viz. the existence of a little *witness body* for Christ, in spite of opposition and persecution, all through the time of the apostacy.—By Isaiah, concordantly with the hints of the primeval prophecy, it had been declared that the witness for Messiah should never fail :¹ by Daniel, that even during the reign of the little horn there would continue saints and faithful ones, who would only be purified and made white by the fiery trial.² So, accordingly, in St. John's later and fuller Apocalyptic prophecy, a line of witnesses for Christ was figured as ever continuing during Antichrist's reign, albeit clothed in sackcloth.—And, whereas Jesus Christ had declared that before the end the gospel of his kingdom must be preached for a witness to all nations, so in the Apocalyptic prophecy, after a figured epoch of all but fatal crisis in the sackcloth-robed witnesses' history, there were foreshown two notable subsequent steps of advance in their later witnessing; the latter involving, as it seemed, a world-wide preaching of the everlasting gospel. And then, and after this, followed in its figurings the promised glory of the consummation.

What I have said on this head of evidence applies to other great subjects of Scripture prophecy. So, for example, (not to recur here to that most important of

¹ Is. lix. 21.

² See p. 107 *suprà*.

all prophetic subjects, the promised seed of the Woman, of which indeed, in another point of view,¹ I shall have to speak under my 3d head,) I might specify that of the *Jews' predicted dispersion*, in judgment for their unfaithfulness, and *subsequent final restoration*: a subject first dwelt on prophetically by Moses; and after him, more or less particularly, by most of the Old Testament and New Testament prophets.—On these various points, I say, we shall find Scripture prophecy to exhibit, from its beginning to its ending, one consistent and harmonious whole. And, seeing that these prophecies were written by a long succession of prophets, of quite different natural talents and characters, and living under different circumstances, at long intervals often one after the other, through the space of some 4000 years, a strong presumptive argument of divine inspiration seems hence to arise, altogether prior to enquiry as to the prophecies' *actual fulfilment*. For whence, we may think, but through their inspiration by one and the same Eternal Spirit, foreseeing the end from the beginning, could there have arisen this unity and consistency in them? So St. Peter states the case. “No prophecy is of private (i. e. of detached and isolated) interpretation: for holy men spake *as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*.”

II. But, if an intelligent inquirer after the true re-

¹ It is simply the *consistency* and *continuity* of the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament that I here refer to.

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ligion, insufficiently informed as yet on the agreement of Scripture prophecy and historic fact, might thus reasonably, from the mere internal evidence of the consistency of those prophecies, form a presumptive judgment in their favour, and so in favour of the religion interwoven with them, how much stronger would this his favourable judgment become after investigations as to their having been proved "faithful and true" by their *fulfilment*!—This, Brethren, has been ever a most strong evidence for the truth of our revealed religion. It began from the very fall of man; since the predicted judgments on sin,—toil, care, decay, disease, death, a curse on the ground, and the woman's bringing forth in sorrow,—began forthwith to have their accomplishment. And, as time, in its passage onward, gradually more and more raised the veil that hid from man's eyes coming mysteries, it has ever continued to gather in accumulating strength and power.—Accordingly, in each successive age, the advocates of revealed religion have prest it on their contemporaries; specially the evidence from such fulfilled prophecies as most affected themselves, and were at the time most striking to them. By Moses and Joshua there was urged on the Israelites of their time the fulfilment of all the good things promised them by God; in regard first of their deliverance from Egypt, and then afterwards of their inheritance of the land of Canaan.¹ By the later Jewish prophets there was urged the fulfilment of the predicted

¹ Deut. vi. 21—23, Josh. xxiii. 14, &c.

Babylonish 70 years' captivity and return.¹ The apostles of Jesus dwelt above all on the fulfilment in him of all the Old Testament Messianic types and prophecies : while the Christians of a century or two later² added to this the fulfilment, which then strikingly met their eyes, of the prophecies of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, and dispersion of its wretched unbelieving people, a byword and proverb among all nations.² Nor did they fail too to mark what had been fulfilled of Daniel's wonderful prophecy about the four great successive dominant empires of the world; and how the prophecy had been realized as faithful and true through the Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and earlier Roman æra. And so they looked with undoubting confidence to the fulfilment of what then remained unaccomplished of it : viz. the breaking up of the Roman empire into a new decemregal form ; and rule of the Man of Sin, or Antichrist, as lord among the ten new kings and kingdoms.³

For ourselves, living as we do at a much later epoch, and looking from a stand-point, as I said before, apparently not so very far from the consummation, it is fit that we take the opportunity offered us of verifying the fulfilment of prophecies that reach further down than patristic times in the world's history ; and very specially whether what the fathers of

¹ Zech. i. 5, 6, Ezra i. 1.

² E. g. Justin Martyr, Jerome, Augustine, &c.

³ On this let me refer to the many citations from the Christian fathers of the 2nd 3rd and 4th centuries, given in my H. A. i. 215, 220, 363, &c.

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the early Christian Church looked for, as predicted by Daniel, St. Paul, and St. John, respecting the disruption of the old Roman empire into a new decem-regal form, and dominancy thenceforward by a head answering to the predicted characteristics of the Man of Sin and Antichrist, had its accomplishment in subsequent history, or not. I say, *very specially* : —because out of all the prophecies so far unfulfilled there was none in respect of subject so important to the Church ; none involving so many circumstantial of every kind, whereby to test whether the words of Scripture prophecy were indeed faithful and true. Hence I wonder not at Bishop Warburton's having made the particular predictions concerning it so prominent, in the thesis that he has propounded to the Lecturers on this foundation, for proving the truth of our Scriptural religion by the fulfilment of the Scriptural prophecies. That profound reasoner Bishop Butler, in the Section on the Prophetic Evidence of Christianity in his *Analogy*, had himself referred to this same prophetic subject, as one fit for the purpose.¹ And several of your Lecturers, entering fully into the spirit of Warburton's injunction, have urged the particular prophetic evidence hence arising with more or less force and ability.²

For my own part I would wish, in the retrospect of my now closing Lectures, to single out, in corro-

¹ See my notice of Bishop Butler's remarks on the subject a little lower, pp. 407, 408.

² See my List of the Lecturers on the Warburton foundation in the Paper No. 1 of the Appendix.

boration of the argument from this class of fulfilled prophecies, precisely those two parts of the Apocalypse, connected with its prophetic description of Antichrist's introduction and reign, which have been till of late the least illustrated; and so seemed to present more or less of difficulty to the inquirer, in the way of his fully receiving the Protestant explanation. I refer to the *Apocalyptic Seals*, prefiguring the antecedents in Roman history, from St. John's time, to the great Roman politico-religious revolution figured as what would precede Antichrist's revelation and reign; and the prophecy of the death and resurrection of Christ's two sackcloth-robed witnesses, during Antichrist's full height of power, including an essentially connected prophecy of some contemporary church-reformation.

Let me then briefly remind you of what appeared in our investigation of each and either of these two particular prophetic sections of the Apocalypse.

1. In regard of the *Apocalyptic Seals*, the earliest prophecies in that prophetic book, and which, according to the revealing Angel's own declaration, were to presignify events and changes destined to follow next after the time of St. John's receiving the revelation in Patmos, it may be remembered that the symbols in the four first were successively *four horses, white, red, black, and deadly pale*: each bearing a rider with his own peculiar badge, as the *crown and bow, sword, balance, or attendant hades*; with certain explanatory statements from the Angel, accompanying each symbolization. And whereas,—assuming the

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war-horse in every case to symbolize the Roman people, agreeably with the Roman propriety of that symbol, and Daniel's use of animals similarly appropriate to signify the correspondent people,—it seemed foreshadowed by these symbolizations that phases of prosperity and triumph, of civil war and bloodshed, of aggravated fiscal oppression, and of terrible mortality, would successively appear in the fortunes of the Roman empire, as unfolded after the time of St. John,—and this under influences indicated by the respective riders in the four successive figurations,—just such we found the fact in the history associated with the names of Nerva, Trajan, and the Antonines, in the first instance, and then of Commodus, Caracalla, and Gallienus respectively.—Under those *first mentioned*,—a new imperial line, all united by adoptions with Nerva as its head, a man of Cretic *bow-bearing* origin, and to whom the *crown* was presented on Domitian's death by the Senate, within a year after St. John's seeing the visions in Patmos,—there arose an 80 years' era of proverbially unparalleled prosperity to the Roman empire; with triumphs most remarkable in offensive wars under Trajan at its commencement, and triumphs as remarkable in defensive wars under the 2nd Antonine near its conclusion.—Under *Commodus*, (the next following emperor,) the dominant power in the state having been devolved to the *sword-bearing military*, there began an æra, under its baneful influence, equally unparalleled for long-continued civil bloodshed and war.—Under *Caracalla* a new and lasting principle

of fiscal extortion and oppression was introduced, (chiefly with a view to propitiate the dominant soldiery,) which was administered by Provincial governors, whose badge was the *balance*: a principle so oppressive in its working as (to use Gibbon's words) "to *darken* the Roman world with its deadly shade."—And then, in *Gallienus'* time, (the combined evils of the two preceding æras having prepared for it,) an æra followed of such destruction of life from the united agencies of the sword, famine, and pestilence, that Gibbon speaks of the ruined empire as then "seeming to approach the last and fatal moment of its dissolution;" and Niebuhr describes its state as like that of central Europe when desolated by the *black death* in the middle ages.—Thus accurately by the symbols of the four first Seals were we brought down in Roman history to Diocletian's reign in the last quarter of the 3rd century. And whereas in the 5th and next Seal there followed the martyr-scene of *the souls under the altar*, so in Roman history, at the close of that century, there followed the last and greatest imperial persecution of Christians, constituting what was ever afterwards called the *æra of martyrs*. And as in the 6th Seal a scene of mighty earthquake and elemental convulsion was primarily depicted, with flight of kings and generals over the Apocalyptic earth, under terror of the Lamb, so in history there followed the mighty politico-religious revolution in the Roman world asso-

¹ See, for more of detail, my 7th Lecture, pp. 213—231 *suprà*: or the much fuller sketch in my H. A.

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ciated with the name of Constantine ; which was introduced by the defeat in numerous successive battles of all opposing heathen emperors, before his new standard of the cross. The result prefigured was that the people of the Apocalyptic or Roman world became identified with the Apocalyptic Israel: the actual result that the Roman world became Roman Christendom ; and its people, in the language of the popular theology of the times, God's Israel. But it was only indeed (just agreeably with the striking indication in the second figuration of the 6th Apocalyptic Seal) to be his *professing* Israel ; and with but a very small numeral proportion, like as it were of but 144,000, answering to the character of God's *true* Israel of the election of grace.

Such was the verification by fulfilment, of the prophecies of the six first Apocalyptic Seals. I pray you to consider that there were not less than some *thirty* telling, specific, and sometimes very singular points in the prophecy ; all which needed realization, in order to the fulfilment of this part of the Apocalypse. Yet out of them all, I believe, there is not one in which historic fact has not been shown to answer to the prophecy.—Moreover the view of Roman history thus prophetically foreshadowed proves to be just the most philosophic view, and that given by the most philosophic historians. And, I ask, can all this have been by chance ?

2. And so again, 2ly, in regard to the Apocalyptic prophecy respecting that *crisis of the Church*

under the 6th Trumpet, and *intervention of Christ for its recovery*, including *the death and resurrection of the two sackcloth-robed witnesses*, which is figured as occurring during the height of the power of the Beast from the abyss, or Antichrist. On the complete fulfilment in all its parts, of this remarkable prophecy, there seems indeed but little need of recapitulating, even in brief, as we have so lately discussed it.¹ Let me remind you only that it occupies in the Apocalypse from the closing verses of the ixth Apocalyptic Chapter, next following on its notice of the slaughter of the third part of men by the Euphratean horsemen of the 6th Trumpet, to the 14th verse of the xith Chapter, which defines that Trumpet's ending :—that it includes two distinct series of predictions, essentially interwoven with each other,² and each involving circumstantial details very many and very peculiar : with the local scene plainly specified of one most eventful transaction in the course of the prophecy, I mean that of the death of the two witnesses ;³ and moreover, both at the beginning, and at the end of it, chronological predictions singularly precise : the one, that of *the hour day month and year* within which, reckoned from the time of their loosing, the Euphratean horsemen were to slay the third of men ; the other, that of the *three and a half*

¹ See my xith Lecture, pp. 331—358 *suprà*.

² The one that of Christ's intervention, (following on the ecclesiastical crisis of ix. 20,) the description of which occupies Apoc. x : the other that of the two witnesses' death and resurrection, described in Apoc. xi. 7—14.

³ See pp. 352, 356 *suprà*.

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days of the witnesses lying as dead corpses in the broad place of the great city.¹—Such, I say, and so many were the particulars of this comprehensive prophecy. Yet did we find each and every particular to have had its fulfilment in the history of the Reformation. And thus again the question recurs, Is it possible that all this series of coincidences between prophecy and fact could have been by chance?

It was stated by me that the two sections of the Apocalyptic prophecy of which the fulfilment has just been recapitulated, and which are more or less closely connected with the great prophecy about Antichrist, constituted till of late the chief unexplained lacunæ affecting that prophecy in the Apocalyptic book.² And as these have been now thus satisfactorily filled up, (and the same might be said, if I mistake not, of certain lesser lacunæ in the same prophecy, e. g. that respecting the *image of the Beast*,)³ the argument of inspiration from its fulfilment becomes necessarily one of double, treble, cogency.—You are of course aware, brethren, that by various prophetic expositors of late, not elsewhere only, but in England, and in large part members of the English Church, there have been made very great efforts (just as before in the times of Charles 2nd and James 2nd) to turn us aside from the old Protestant application of St. Paul's, St. John's, and Daniel's prophecies about Antichrist to the Roman Popes and Papacy. One

¹ See pp. 331—333, and 355, 356 *suprà*.

² See p. 400, 401.

³ See p. 268.

might have hoped that the recollection of this being the view deliberately taken of them both by the founders of the reformed Church of England, and by most of its chief doctors subsequently,—by Tyndale and Cranmer, Latimer and Jewell, by the writers of our Homilies and the Authors of our authorized English version of the Bible, by Hooker and Usher, Whitgift and Andrews,¹ by Barrow (if I mistake not)² and Dr. S. Clarke³ and Bishop Butler,⁴ by Warbur-

¹ See the citations from all the above-mentioned given in my Paper No. iv. of the Appendix to Vol. iii. of the H. A.—Let me only add to the citation from *Hooker* there given the passages following: “The grand question between us and Rome is about the matter of justifying righteousness. . . We disagree about the nature and essence of the medicine whereby Christ cureth our disease.” And then, after describing the Romish doctrine of justification, he adds: “This is the mystery of the *Man of Sin*.” Disc. on Justif. Chs. 4 and 5.

² *Barrow*, on the Supremacy of the Pope, ch. 5, in allusion to the Pope’s money gains, and assertion of false miracles with a view to that object, thus speaks:—“as also legends, fables of miracles, and all such *deceivableness of unrighteousness*.” Where, in the margin, a reference is made to 2 Thess. ii. 10. So at p. 310 (Oxford Ed. 1818.) And at p. 477 he says, “Later Popes, like the *Man of Sin* in St. Paul, have advanced themselves above all civil power.”

³ *Dr. S. Clarke’s* judgment, which is expressed in the very strongest terms, is cited by Warburton at the conclusion of his Sermon on Antichrist; and must appear the more weighty to those who duly estimate his cautious and philosophic character of mind. “If,” he concludes, “there be not now such a power, [viz. as that of Antichrist predicted by the apostles Paul and John,] actually and conspicuously exercised in the world, and if any picture of this power drawn after the event can now describe it more plainly and exactly than it was originally described in the words of the prophecy,—then may it with some degree of plausibleness be suggested that the prophecies are nothing more than enthusiastic imaginations.” Evidence of Natural and Revealed Religion by Dr. S. Clarke, p. 282.

⁴ 1. *Bishop Butler* in his Analogy, P. ii. ch. 7, refers to Daniel’s symbolic image, and the division of its feet into ten toes, as that which

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ton and Van Mildert,¹ and moreover the great philosopher Sir I. Newton,—one might have hoped, I say, that a recollection of this weighty list of names, advocating the Protestant interpretation, would have induced the innovators on it, just referred to, to regard and propound their innovations with more of reserve and self-distrust than has generally been the case. And this the rather as they have been so utterly unable to agree among themselves as to the more correct interpretation; and have one and all fallen in their attempts into such evident inconsistencies and errors.²

had had its fulfilment in the division of the Roman empire into about that number of kingdoms in the 5th and 6th centuries. p. 318. (Ed. 1813.)

2. He speaks of "Popery so as it is profest at Rome," as being "the manifest open usurpation of all human and divine authority." Sermon xx, before House of Lords.

3. In Note C. to the biographical sketch of Bishop Butler, prefix to the Analogy, Bishop Halifax cites Archbishop Secker, saying that "it might be proved, if needful, that Bishop Butler *held the Pope to be Antichrist*."

¹ Bishop Warburton's opinion is cited by me p. 410, a little further on. Bishop Van Mildert's was thus express in his speech on the Roman Catholic claims in the House of Lords. "I am convinced, and that upon no slight or superficial grounds, but after many years of studious consideration and inquiry, that the religion of Popery is distinctly and awfully pointed out in Scripture as *the one great apostacy from the truth*, the declared object of the divine displeasure." See the Memoir prefix to his Sermons and Charges, p. 103.

² See my Chapter on the *Year-day* in the 3rd Volume of the H. A.; and also my full critical examinations of the counter-prophetic systems of both the Præterist and Futurist schools in the Appendix to my 4th Volume of the H. A.; and of Lücke and Hengstenberg in the Appendix to the 3rd Volume.

From a Review in the Christian Remembrancer of Oct. 1853, on Apocalyptic Interpretation, I infer that the chiefs of the Tractarian school, connected with that Periodical, after oscillating between one and the other counter-view of the prophecies about Antichrist, have

—No doubt the fact just admitted, of the unsatisfactoriness of the explanations long given to certain lesser prophecies more or less closely connected with that of Antichrist, might seem to the less reflective to offer ground, not unpalatable, for questioning the correctness of the Protestant explanation of that prophecy itself. But surely not so to the reflective and philosophic. As well might a Jewish denier of the Messiahship of Jesus of Nazareth consider it a sufficient ground for his denial that doubts, and difficulties, and a diversity of opinion exist even among learned Christians as to the exact application to Jesus of certain Old Testament Messianic prophecies; e. g. that of Daniel respecting the seventy weeks.¹ It has been well said by Bishop Butler that “the obscurity or unintelligibility of one part of the prophecy does not in any degree invalidate the proof of foresight arising from the appearing completion of those other parts that are understood.”² In time, and with further research and knowledge, it might be hoped that the obscurity in such cases would be removed. Indeed I have shewn this to be the fact, to your satisfaction as I trust, in regard of those parts of the Apocalypse, viz. *the Seals*, and the prophecy concerning *the Witnesses’ death and resurrection*, to the Protestant explanations of which exception might heretofore have been most reasonably made.

at last concluded on espousing the Præterist view rather than the Futurist. I shall hope to remark on this Review in the Appendix to the present Volume.

¹ See these differences noticed in my H. A. iii. 266.

² P. 312.

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And thus, in fine, on considering that very strongly exprest opinion of Bishop Warburton, "I have ever thought the prophecies relative to Antichrist, interspersed up and down the Old and New Testament, [i. e. as fulfilled in the Roman Papacy] the most convincing proof of the truth of the Christian religion that any moral matter is capable of receiving," we may, I think, to this extent reasonably admit and adopt it;—that it is to be reckoned among the most convincing prophetic historical proofs. First, in my own opinion, comes the fulfilment of the prophecies about *Christ*: next (unless we prefer to choose those respecting the *Jews*) the fulfilment of the prophecies about *Antichrist*.

IIIrdly, I have now to direct your attention to *the moral evidence* of the divine inspiration of Scripture prophecy; as arising more especially from those two characteristics of the great Scriptural prophetic scheme set forth in our Text:—1st, its *glorification throughout of the Lord Jesus, as the Alpha and Omega in the accomplishment of the great work of man's redemption*; 2ndly, its answering to *the deepest cravings, and deepest convictions, of the heart and the conscience of man*.

Let me premise that, in a *general* way, there is ever to be remembered the moral evidence attached to Scripture prophecy from the fact of its not consisting of mere insulated predictions of the future, but of predictions mixt up to a large extent with holy ex-

hortations, warnings, and instructions address by God to his professing people, whether of the Jewish or Christian dispensation, through the prophet as his organ or medium of communication to them.¹ Indeed the very etymology of the Greek words *prophet*, and *prophesy*, as also of their Hebrew equivalents, implies as much. The declaration, "Aaron shall be thy *prophet*," made to Moses in Exod. vii. 1, is explained in Exod. iv. 16 by the equivalent declaration, "Aaron shall be thy *spokesman* to the people, and thy *mouth*." And the same is applicable very specially to those that were *God's prophets*, or *God's spokesmen*.²—Which being the case, whatever evidence of inspiration may arise out of the pure morality inculcated by the prophets, their deep searchings of the human heart, and sublime and glorious representations of God's attributes and character,—I say the moral evidence hence arising so mixes itself up with the historic evidence arising out of the fulfilment of the prophet's predictions, that the one can never rightly be estimated without the addition of the other.³

But now turn we from this *general* moral evidence of Scripture prophecy to that arising out of the two characteristics of it specially suggested by our Text.—And,

1st, from its *glorification of the Godman, Christ Jesus, as the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end*, in the great work of fallen man's redemption.

¹ Compare what is said of the Jewish prophets in 2 Kings xvii. 13.

² See H. A. ii. 146—148.

³ On this point I may refer to Davison's 2nd Warburtonian Lecture.

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It may be remembered by some now present that in an early Lecture of my course it was my endeavour to show that it resulted as a moral necessity from God's own infinite excellence that he should make his own glory the supreme end and object of all the great schemes of his devising.¹ Hence, were this characteristic wanting to Scripture prophecy, the fact would militate most strongly against its divine origin; whereas, if the contrary be markedly the case, then the fact furnishes important moral evidence in its favor. Now such, most assuredly, we shall find to be its character, alike in the Scriptures of the Old Testament and of the New. In either, "the testimony of Jesus (the Godman) will be found indeed to be the spirit of prophecy."

In order to a juster and more comprehensive judgment on this point, it will be well to remember how Scripture prophecy included the foreshowing by *ritual type*, as well as by the prophet's *word of mouth*. They were from the first evidently both instituted together by *God*; the ritual as well as the verbal prophecy. So it seems implied in the Scripture narrative: for how else would our poor fallen first parents have dared to take the life of God's creatures;² or how else God have accepted Abel's animal offering, in preference to that of the first-fruits of the ground offered by Cain? And each and either, like comments and supplements to

¹ See Lect. iii. pp. 80—82. *suprà*.

² On the statement that God clothed our first parents with *the skins of animals*, after their fall, the suggestion has very naturally been made that this may probably have been with the skins of animals then first killed for sacrifice.

each other, testified to the promised Redeemer, as him that was to be the alpha and omega in man's salvation; not without personal conflict and self-devoted suffering, on his part, in the accomplishment of the work. While the verbal prophecy told of the seed of the woman that should bruise the serpent's head, and in doing this suffer the bruising of his own heel, the sacrificed animal, without which no worship was afterwards to be acceptable, foreshowed the death of Him it typified, as man's substitute; even that same seed of the woman, and Lamb of God, that was to take away the sins of the world. Hence the reason that God's Church was to consist of those only who should "make a covenant with God by sacrifice;"¹ looking through it to the Atoner to come. And thus doubtless Abel, Noah, Abraham, and other godly patriarchs of the Old Testament Scriptures, understood the purport of the prophetic ritual; while "the Spirit of Christ that was in them did testify beforehand of the sufferings of Christ, and of the glory that should follow."² And thus too all the other Old Testament saints and prophets after them; Job,³ Moses,

¹ Ps. l. 5.

² 1 Pet. i. 11. To Abraham himself there was probably vouchsafed a still clearer view of the nature of Christ's sacrifice, on occasion of his sacrificing Isaac in intent and purpose;—the father his only beloved son. "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day." It is said that he called the mount *Jehovah-jireh*; "In this mount Jehovah shall appear." In the Jews' form of prayer this is thus curiously referred to as expiatory;—"Remember the offering of the only son Isaac for the sake of Israel."

³ So e. g. Job xxxiii. 24; in which Job's friend Elihu spoke of the Covenant-Angel being gracious to him, and saying, "Deliver his soul from going down into the pit, for I have found a ransom."

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David, Isaiah, Daniel, and the other prophets. *Objectively* the Scripture record shows that all looked forward themselves, and pointed others, to the Godman, the Messiah, that was to come and suffer for us, as the hope of all the ends of the earth.—As time went on the view was extended to other offices and relations of mercy, in which the divine expected Saviour was thus to be looked forward to by the children of men. By Moses, the greatest of the purely human prophets of Israel, and mediator of the old Sinaitic covenant, he was predicted as a prophet like unto Moses, but evidently of still higher dignity, whom Jehovah would raise up to them from out of the midst of the people:¹—by David, Isaiah, Daniel, Zechariah, alike as the intercessorial High Priest that would make reconciliation for sin by the pleading of his own sacrifice;² and also as the King, whose coming in the clouds of heaven would be the overthrow of all evil, and introduction of a universal enduring kingdom of righteousness and happiness: his kingdom being an everlasting kingdom, and his one dominion that should not pass away.³

Nor was it merely that Jesus Christ, the Godman, was set forth throughout Old Testament prophecy as the alpha and omega of man's salvation, with reference to what he would do at the epoch, more or less distant, of his manifestation in the form

¹ Deut. xviii. 15.

² Ps. cx. 4, Is. liii. 10, 12, Dan. ix. 24, 27, Zech. vi. 13. See p. 49 *suprà*.

³ Dan. vii. 27.

of man: but also (and I deem this well worthy of regard) as him that, in all the previously intervening time, was acting, and would act, as the heavenly *observer, guardian, and Saviour of his Church and people*. Very early in Old Testament records we find him spoken of as the *Angel of Jehovah*, albeit also *Jehovah himself*. (I have early in my course of Lectures had to note this fact more fully.)¹ And both individually in the case of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and nationally afterwards in their descendants the Israelites, Scripture prophecy represented him as the divine Angel engaged to fulfil the good temporal promises made to the one and the other. So, for instance, in Jacob's case at Bethel.² "Jehovah (called afterwards by Jacob, *the Angel of Jehovah*³) stood above the ladder, and said; I am the God of Abraham, thy father, and of Isaac: the land whereon thou liest to thee will *I* give it, and to thy seed. And behold *I* am with thee, and will keep thee in all places whither thou goest, and will bring thee again into this land." In the case of Israel, when brought under Moses out of Egypt, he is designated as the Angel sent before them, to keep them in the way, and to bring them into the place prepared for them by God; with the charge "Beware of him, and obey his voice, for my name is in him."⁴ Again, in quite another character, we read of Isaiah, evidently as head of a long line of prophets, receiving from him his prophetic

¹ See pp. 68—70 *suprà*.³ Gen. xlviii. 15, 16.

Gen. xxviii. 13.

⁴ Exod. xxiii. 20.

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commission. I refer to that glorious vision of Jehovah "on a throne high and lifted up, and with a train that filled the temple," which is elsewhere expressly stated to have been one of the Lord Jesus: in which too it was intimated that the message would be continuously rejected by the Jews; and that then the judgment of Judah's desolation should follow, and "Jehovah would remove men far away."¹—Examples of all this might be multiplied indefinitely. We see how in all that was to be done for his people, during the successive generations of their existence prior to his incarnation, it was still Jehovah Jesus that was represented in Old Testament prophecies as he that would act out the office of their guardian and Saviour. The Christology of the *Old Testament* prophecy represents him as ever to the individual, as well as to the Church, for the nearer future, as well as the more distant, the alpha and omega of salvation.

As to *New Testament* prophecy the same is so obviously the case that I need hardly detain you to illustrate it. Suffice it to suggest that, *objectively* considered, every promise of God's present favour, and of ultimate salvation, (each promise being of course a prediction) is made to depend on faith, living faith, in Jesus. "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ; and thou shalt be saved."—Moreover, as regards the effective *carrying out of those promises*, alike to each individual believer, and to the collective Church,

¹ Is. vi. 1—12.

through all interposing dangers and difficulties, he is depicted, yet more clearly even than in the prophecies of the Old Testament, as himself doing the work; the finisher, as well as author, of our faith. "Lo! I am with you always, even to the end of the world."

"Where two or three meet together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." "I will pray my Father, and he shall send you another Comforter, even the Spirit of truth." "I go to prepare a place for you: and if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also."—Thus, if "the heaven was to receive him until the times of the restitution of all things," (times spoken of by all the prophets,) ¹ he was still represented as being there in the character of the ever watchful ever active friend and Saviour of his people. His coming again was thus felt the more to be the grand object of the hopes of Christians. "When Christ, who is (now) our life, shall appear, we shall also appear with him in glory."

If we turn to the Apocalypse, as the fullest prophetic sketch of all the varied fortunes and phases of the Church from after the apostolic times until the consummation, we shall find the same fact of his being the one *object* of its faith, and *actor* for its good, prominent in its figurations.—In it the witnesses for the truth were represented as Christ's witnesses: the sealed ones of the true Israel, distinctively from the mere professing Israel, as sealed with God's signet

¹ Acts iii. 21.

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¹ Acts iii. 21.

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by him, or by his life-giving Spirit: the incense of the saints' prayers as made acceptable by the sacrificial fire on the great altar which typified his atoning sacrifice; and the palm-bearing company, freshly come victorious from the trial-scenes of earth to the beatific vision in heaven, as those that had "washed their robes, and made them white, in the blood of the Lamb."¹—So too, as the ever active help and friend of his people, the prophecy represents him as declaring, "*I will give power to my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy 1260 days in sackcloth.*" It was before his wrath as the Lamb that the firmamental heaven of the great hostile politico-religious system of Roman heathenism was seen in its 6th Seal to pass away, rolled up like a scroll. It was his manifestation of himself in the character of the sun of righteousness, and with the symbol of the covenant-rainbow about his head, that was depicted as reviving religion, when all but extinguished in professing Christendom: his intervention, in the character of King of kings and Lord of lords, as at the last overwhelming with utter destruction the confederacy of Beast and kings against his gospel, and introducing the promised regeneration of all things. "*Behold, I make all things new.*"²

Thus, summing up, is Jesus Christ, i. e. the GOD-MAN, the Redeemer, represented in Scripture prophecy, from Genesis even to Revelations, as the alpha and omega, the beginning and the ending of man's

¹ Apoc. xi. 3, vii. 2, 14, viii. 3.

² See Apoc. xi. 3, vi. 16, x. 1, xix. 11.

salvation. Thus does the whole fellowship of the prophets praise him.—Which being so, we see herein one important particular of the *moral evidence* of divine inspiration attached to Scripture prophecy. The very reason of man assents to the propriety, nay necessity, of the Scripture declaration that, as of God and through God are all things, so to Him must belong all the glory. Hence, had Scripture prophecy assigned to any other person the glory of carrying out the scheme of redemption, that of defeating the purposes of the Evil One, of the sustentation of the Church through its trials, and ordering all events, mysteriously often but surely, towards the blessed end of the regeneration of all things, (e. g. as the Roman Catholic system ascribes it to the Virgin Mary, Rome's queen of heaven, and queen of the heart's present affections,) there would then have been a moral flaw in its evidence; indeed an evidence of its having had origin from beneath, not from above. The same if, like some of the old philosophic religious systems, it had represented the Creator God to be so absorbed in the contemplation of his own blessedness, as to turn aside from so troublesome a government as that of this fallen world, and leave it to inferior deities, or angels.¹—Nor must we forget the grandeur and vastness of this glorification of God by Scripture prophecy: and how, in what it tells of the original purpose and carrying out of the scheme of redemption, which is its

¹ See pp. 19—23 *suprà*.

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great subject, there is set forth an exhibition of all God's various and blessed attributes in a perfectness of beauty and harmony which nothing probably but such a scheme of redemption of fallen creatures, by means of his own union of the manhood with the Godhead, could have enabled even God himself to do :—his holiness, justice, wisdom, truth, faithfulness, love ; love infinite, self-sacrificing, thoughtful, patient, long-suffering, and strong even unto death.¹—Hence indeed the scheme of this world's recovery by Christ Jesus, which is the chief subject of Scripture prophecy, is represented in Scripture as both during its progress, and after its completion, a chief subject of admiration to the myriads of higher intelligences, even through eternity :—that “ now unto principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known through the Church the manifold wisdom,” and all other glorious attributes, of God ; yea too, and “ through the ages, the countless ages, to come.”²—This, like the *heliocentric* view of our earthly orb taken by astronomers, is in a peculiar manner the *heavenly* view taken by the Angelic spirits above of man's redemption : and constitutes one most important point of the moral evidence of Scripture prophecy's divine original.

2ndly, our Text suggests, as yet another point of moral evidence attaching to Scripture prophecy, that the Providential scheme which it unfolds is one that answers to *the deepest convictions, and aspirations, of the conscience and the heart of man.* For there is

¹ See pp. 86—88 *suprà*.

² Eph. iii. 10, ii. 7.

propounded in it, as the reward set before the children of men, nothing less than this, "I will give to him that is athirst of the water of life freely: he that overcometh shall inherit all things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son:"—while it declares also the exclusion from life, and punishment with the fearful second death, of the slothful, the coward, the unbelieving; of the abominable and whoremongers, of sorcerers and idolaters, of murderers, and all liars. A twofold subject for consideration.

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As to the latter branch of the subject, it involves very solemn and painful reflections; and I do not wish to dwell on it. But thus much I feel bound in faithfulness to say:—that, were there no such discrimination of character in the final results of the prophetic scheme, no such exclusion from reward, and adjudgment to punishment, there would be wanting to Scripture prophecy one proof of a divine original.—Why evil and sin should have been permitted is a deep question; too deep indeed for any human mind to fathom. But the fact that they exist we all know. And the conscience which God has placed within us, like as it were his witness in man's soul, instinctively protests (until deadened by resistance) against sundry things sinful, such as are here specified, e. g. the sins of adultery, lying, murder:—not without suggestion of fears, sometimes very awful, of God's wrath and coming judgments against the sinner. What then if the prophetic scheme of Scripture held out no prospect of discrimination at last between him that herein obeyed God,

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and him that obeyed him not? Surely it would imply a difference between the divine author of conscience and the author of Scripture prophecy.¹—If such a class of offenders as the *δειλοί*, or *slothful*, seem to any one hardly dealt with in the judgment of our text, because of their sins being negative rather than positive, let me refer to the analogy of God's natural government of the world; in which slothfulness will be found continually to bring its punishment with it. Or, if we take the word in the sense of the *fearful*, and *coward*, let me suppose the case of civil war between contending princes; and ask whether he who from cowardice failed in critical times to uphold the cause of the lawful king would not justly, in the judgment of all men, be excluded from the rewards of the kingdom, on its successful establishment?—Let it never be forgotten that one reason doubtless of the permission of moral evil is to show to the intelligent universe its hatefulness and sure punishment.² This appears in the scheme of God's natural government of the world: and ought, I repeat, so to appear in any Providential or prophetic scheme emanating from him.

But turn we to the other point of moral evidence suggested in the clause before us:—from man's conscience, and its convictions on sin and moral evil, to *the heart*, and *its instinctive aspirations and longings after good*. “I will give,” says Christ, unto him that is athirst of the water of life freely: he that over-

¹ See Rom. i. 18—21, ii. 14, 15.

² See pp. 97, 98 *suprà*.

cometh shall inherit all things ; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son : ”

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“ Him that is athirst.” How truly does this figure depict the cravings of man’s heart ever since the fall ! Well may we conceive how with Adam and Eve themselves, on that sad day when they were driven out of Paradise, with Cherubim and a flaming sword that turned every way to keep the way of the tree of life, the thirst here spoken of began ;—the thirst after the life they had lost in the love of a heavenly Father. And well may we conceive too how, in that thirst, their souls rested on the promise of the seed of the woman which should bruise the serpent’s head, as that which might warrant the hope of a restoration, sooner or later, of the blessings lost. If so, though the thorns and the thistles might multiply round them, instead of the flowers of Paradise, the ground yield its fruit only to the sweat of man’s brow, and the feelings of weariness, infirmity, sickness remind them of approaching death,—yet hope would make all bearable. It was impossible that a tenderness of feeling towards them could be wanting on the part of Him who, out of his own free goodness, had made that promise. He had not wholly forsaken them. And if they attended to his admonitions, nothing less than an annulling of the curse, and restoration of the bliss of Paradise, including above all that of his own love and fellowship, seemed, after however hard a trial, placed before them. Was not this like water to their thirsty souls ?—Here too doubtless, and in this hope, the pious Abel sought

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alleviation to his thirst; and here too Enoch, Noah, Abraham, and the other succeeding patriarchs prophets and saints, with increasing light ever after. "Like as the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after God. My soul is athirst for God, for the living God." So sang the sweet Psalmist of Israel in one place. And then elsewhere; "How excellent is thy loving-kindness, O God! The sons of men shall be abundantly satisfied with the plenteousness of thy house. Thou shalt make them drink of the rivers of thy pleasure. For with thee is the fountain of life." Thus was the water of life identified by David with the enjoyment of God. Thus did he himself, by faith in the Scripture promises and prophecies, fully hope to attain it.—And as David, so, according to the tenor of all Scripture doctrine, may each child of man after him. On the freeness and universality of the offer of the water of life to the children of men, listen to the evangelic prophet Isaiah; "Ho every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters:" therein speaking under the Old Testament dispensation, as moved by the Spirit of Him who long afterwards, under the New, spoke as in our text, "Whosoever is athirst, let him take of the water of life freely."—No doubt in seeking to Christ for this there is involved conflict and difficulty. The present state, ever since the fall, has been one of hardship and self-denial in the right road. Enemies within and enemies without,—the flesh, the world, and the Devil,—solicit and inveigle us away from

Him who can alone dispense from the fountain of life. Yet, in the Scripture scheme, this does not affect the real freeness of the offer. If any fail, it will only be, as in the case of the Jews of old, from their own evil self-will; "Ye will not come to me that ye may have life." The necessary grace and help is promised to every sincere seeker: for Christ, as before observed, is set forth as the alpha and omega of salvation for time present, as well as for time future.—Moreover, if hardship has to be endured, a reward is offered more than proportionate: yea, and in the prelibation of the water of life, which Christ even now will give him, he is promised an inward assurance of his full future fruition. The present witness of the Spirit that he is a child of God is to be to him a pledge and guarantee of his future all-glorious reward and inheritance. "For if a son, then an heir; heir of God, and joint-heir with Christ." "Whoso overcometh shall inherit all things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son."

And now then consider this as a point of evidence on the great question of the divine original of Scripture prophecy, and the Scripture religion.—It will, I am sure, be felt by us all that there exists a thirst and craving, instinctive in man's heart, which nothing can satisfy but the *fruition* of the infinite God himself, in the relationship and communion of a loving Father: at the same time that in seeking him such opposition will be felt from corrupt nature, such weakness and such sinfulness, that the conviction will rest deeper and deeper in each soul, in proportion as self-

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alleviation to his thirst; and here too Enoch, Noah, Abraham, and the other succeeding patriarchs prophets and saints, with increasing light ever after. "Like as the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after God. My soul is athirst for God, for the living God." So sang the sweet Psalmist of Israel in one place. And then elsewhere; "How excellent is thy loving-kindness, O God! The sons of men shall be abundantly satisfied with the plenteousness of thy house. Thou shalt make them drink of the rivers of thy pleasure. For with thee is the fountain of life." Thus was the water of life identified by David with the enjoyment of God. Thus did he himself, by faith in the Scripture promises and prophecies, fully hope to attain it.—And as David, so, according to the tenor of all Scripture doctrine, may each child of man after him. On the freeness and universality of the offer of the water of life to the children of men, listen to the evangelic prophet Isaiah; "Ho every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters:" therein speaking under the Old Testament dispensation, as moved by the Spirit of Him who long afterwards, under the New, spoke as in our text, "Whosoever is athirst, let him take of the water of life freely."—No doubt in seeking to Christ for this there is involved conflict and difficulty. The present state, ever since the fall, has been one of hardship and self-denial in the right road. Enemies within and enemies without,—the flesh, the world, and the Devil,—solicit and inveigle us away from

Him who can alone dispense from the fountain of life.

Yet, in the Scripture scheme, this does not affect the real freeness of the offer. If any fail, it will only be, as in the case of the Jews of old, from their own evil self-will; "Ye will not come to me that ye may have life." The necessary grace and help is promised to every sincere seeker: for Christ, as before observed, is set forth as the alpha and omega of salvation for time present, as well as for time future.—Moreover, if hardship has to be endured, a reward is offered more than proportionate: yea, and in the prelibation of the water of life, which Christ even now will give him, he is promised an inward assurance of his full future fruition. The present witness of the Spirit that he is a child of God is to be to him a pledge and guarantee of his future all-glorious reward and inheritance. "For if a son, then an heir; heir of God, and joint-heir with Christ." "Whoso overcometh shall inherit all things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son."

LECT.
XIII.

And now then consider this as a point of evidence on the great question of the divine original of Scripture prophecy, and the Scripture religion.—It will, I am sure, be felt by us all that there exists a thirst and craving, instinctive in man's heart, which nothing can satisfy but the *fruition* of the infinite God himself, in the relationship and communion of a loving Father: at the same time that in seeking him such opposition will be felt from corrupt nature, such weakness and such sinfulness, that the conviction will rest deeper and deeper in each soul, in proportion as self-

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knowledge increases, that, if the blessing be given, it must be given of grace freely. Now then come not these deep-seated feelings in one's own consciousness from God himself? And, if so, are they not his witness that no prophetic scheme can be from him, or religion interwoven with the prophecy, which does not hold out the hope, and offer, of a satisfying of the soul's thirst in the reunion of man with God, even as of a son with his father, in perfect everlasting fellowship: and this in a mode, and with proffered help, that may make it attainable by all?—If so, consider, I pray you, the various schemes of the future propounded by other religions than that of holy Scripture: and mark, in respect of the test just spoken of, how there is the stamp of a divine original in the one, and of an origin contrary to divine in all the others. In my first Lecture, preached some three years ago, I sketched briefly to you the views propounded by the chief Greek and Roman philosophers, from Thales down to Cicero, respecting the nature of God, his relationship to man, the soul's state after death, the origin of evil, and the world's creation and future destiny. And, in the case of each and every one, we saw that they proposed nothing suited to quench the deep thirst of the soul of man; no view of God as at once the Holy One, and a God of love; no proffered scheme of help in the spiritual conflict within against evil; no hopes of a holy happy eternity, in filial union with God. A God of benevolence was the best that the philosophers could imagine: an idea

of Him altogether different from that of a God of love. Others taught of Him as possest even with something like envy¹ at any case of particular happiness in the human family. As to the future after death, the poets' fables about the infernal regions convey no very incorrect idea of the prevalent notions on that head. Transmigration was another of their theories; with absorption into the Deity for its termination; in such manner as to involve the loss in each case of all individual consciousness and life. So as to the anticipations of the future by heathen philosophers. And is not Heathenism then repudiated by the test spoken of?—So too need I suggest how it repudiates Mahomedanism, with its Paradise of gross sensualism, as the best that Mahomet's religion could propose after this life to his followers; and Popery also, with its terrible purgatorial future?—We conclude that it is the Scriptural religion that alone satisfies the deep cravings implanted by God in the heart of man; and consequently that Scripture prophecy, and the Scriptural religion connected with it, bears alone on it the stamp of a divine original.

And now I come to the *conclusion* of these Lectures. And how can I more fitly do so than in applying personally and individually to yourselves those

¹ So Solon. Herodotus i. 32; also iii. 40.

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gracious words of promise by Christ, that we have last been discussing :—" I will give to him that is athirst of the water of life freely. He that overcometh shall inherit all things : and I will be his God, and he shall be my son."—Dear Brethren, I have often felt, while pursuing our elaborate comparisons of prophecy and history, that there was a something in them too coldly argumentative, and too wanting in appeals to the heart and conscience : except indeed in so far as occasion might arise, from time to time, for setting forth from Scripture prophecy the glory of Him who is its alpha and omega, the God-man Christ Jesus. No doubt it was accordant with duty thus to argue. And (not to speak of the exceeding importance at the present time of right Scriptural views on that which has been our main prophetic topic, *the church of Christ*, and *counter-church of Antichrist*,) one might hope surely for God's blessing in the argument ; while endeavouring thus to carry out the high object proposed in the Warburton Lectures, of proving from prophecy the divinity of Christ's religion. For, as God has united together in our wonderful nature the intellectual and the moral, the reason and the affections,—it is right, and most important, that we should with all care seek into those evidences of the truth of the religion of Jesus Christ which appeal primarily to the understanding : among which undoubtedly that of Scripture prophecy holds a high place, and is indeed indispensable to the thoughtful inquirer.—Still we must ever remember that it is

“ with *the heart* that man believeth unto righteousness:” and, if the heart be not affected, the mere satisfaction of the understanding will be altogether insufficient.— Let me then remind you of what was urged under one of my later heads in this Lecture: viz. that Scripture prophecy deals not with the distant future only, but with the nearer present; not with the great general issues of worldly events only, but with the personal eventful history of each individual. He who at the last is to come in visible glory, and then introduce the regeneration of all things, has also promised, it tells us, to come by his Spirit to each earnest prayerful seeker of God; and thus manifest himself to the soul, as its own Saviour and Redeemer. Which being so, you have this internal test of the truth of Scripture prophecy, and Scripture religion, put into your own hands. I again assume that there is none present but has felt at one time or other a thirst, a craving thirst, after the knowledge of God, and acquisition of his love and fellowship. For no learning, no reputation, no success of lawful ambition, can have satisfied the soul, or supprest its deeper cravings: no, nor even the domestic charities, “ that only bliss of paradise which has survived the fall.” Were there nothing else to stir up ever afresh our thirst for something better, there is the thought of death soon, very soon, coming to break up all that has been dearest to us on earth. If then you have this thirst after God, make trial of Him who has promised to satisfy it:—“ Whosoever is athirst, let him come unto me,

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and drink." Go yourselves to Christ in earnest prayer; mixing ever therewith the study of his word. Plead his many promises. Plead too your own necessities, frailty, weakness:—"I am a stranger upon earth: oh! hide not thy commandments from me!" Pray that the eyes of your understanding may be opened, that you may thus *experimentally* know "what is the hope of your calling, and what the riches of the glory of Christ's inheritance with the saints;" and what "the length, breadth, depth, and height of that love of God to man in Christ, which after all passeth knowledge." Be not discouraged if the prayer seem for a while unanswered. Persevere. And, if the recorded testimony be not false of servants of God, not only in the Old and New Testament history, but in all ages, yea and not least in the age even now current,¹ these prayers will at length be answered. The Spirit of Christ shall take of the things of Christ, and show them unto you. In the love of God, shed abroad in your heart, you shall have some prelibation of that water of life which the beloved disciple, in his visions of the future, saw flowing pure as crystal from the throne of God and of the Lamb.—Then, while the other evidences of the truth of Christ's holy religion are appreciated by you in the convincing force that alike singly, and far more conjointly, attaches to

¹ As evidence of this the most striking, I beg to refer to recently published biographies of eminent Christians, such as of Chalmers, Bickersteth, Hewitson; which, in this point of view, seem to me to be absolutely invaluable to the enquirer after religious truth.

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LECTURER.	YEARS.	TEXTS OF THE					
HURD	1768—1772	2 Pet. i. 21.	Rev. xix. 10.	Do.	John xiii. 19.	Is. xlii. 9.	Do.
HALIFAX	1772—1776	Rev. iii. 22.	Dan. xii. 10.	Dan. ii. 44.	Dan. xiii. 8, 9.	2 Thes. ii. 3.	1 Tim. i.
BAGOT	1776—1780	Is. x. 6, 7.	Dan. vii. 14.	Matt. xiii. 31, 32.	Mic. v. 2.	Zech. vi. 13.	Heb. ii.
APTHORPE	1780—1784	Is. xxix. 11, 12.	Is. xxix. 11, 12.	Is. vii. 14. — viii. 18. — ix. 6. — xi. 1.	Dan. ix. 24—27.	Dan. ix. 24.	Dan. ix.
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
NARES	1800—1804	Is. xlii. 9, 10.	Luke xxiv. 44.	1 Pet. i. 10.	Acts xxviii. 23.	Heb. iv. 8, 9.	Luke i. 32, 33.
PEARSON	1807—1811	Acts xv. 18.	Acts i. 7.	Acts i. 7.	Mark iv. 31, 32.	Matt. xv. 13.	1 Cor. i. 10, 11.
ALWOOD	1811—1815	Gen. xii. 3.	John i. 17.	Matt. iii. 1, 2.	Luke xxiv. 27.	Luke xxiv. 27.	Matt. xx. 33, 39.
RENNELL ²	1815—1819						
DAVISON	1819—1823	2 Pet. i. 21.	Jer. xxv. 4.	Gen. xvii. 7.	Deut. xviii. 15.	Acts iii. 24.	Amos iii.
LYALL ³	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
NOLAN	1833—1837	2 Kings xvii. 13, 14.	2 Kings xvii. 22, 23.	2 Kings xvii. 18—20.	2 Chron. xxxvi. 20, 21.	Dan. viii. 13, 14.	Dan. vi. 15—18.
M'CAUL	1837—1841	Is. xliii. 9.	Is. ix. 6.	Is. ix. 6.	Ps. xviii. 43.	Rev. xvii. 5.	Rev. xv. 5, 6.
HARRISON	1841—1845	Rev. i. 3.	Dan. ii. 44.	Dan. vii. 26, 27.	Dan. viii. 25, 26.	Dan. xi. 45.	Rev. v. 8—10.
MAURICE ⁴	1845—1849	Heb. i. 1—4.	Heb. ii. 6—8.	Heb. xi. 39, 40.	*	*	*
ELLIOTT	1849—1853	Is. xlii. 5—9.	Is. xlii. 5—8.	Is. xlii. 5—8.	2 Thess. ii. 1—12.	2 Thess. ii. 1—12.	2 Thess. i. 1—12.

¹ In this interval of 16 years, I am led to suppose, that there occurred the Lectureships of Dr. Nicholson, Dr. L

² Lectures not published.

³ The substance of the Lectures published in a volume entitled *Propædia Præparanda*.

⁴ The first three only printed as

ON LECTURERS.

TEXTS OF THE SEVERAL LECTURES.

Is. xlii. 9.	Do.	1 John ii. 18.	Do.	Ez. xx. 49.	Do.	Luke xii. 56.	Rev. xxii. 7.
2 Thes. ii. 3.	1 Tim. iv. 1.	Rev. i. 3.	Rev. i. 19.	Rev. xvii. 18.	Rev. xxii. 6.	Acts xxvi. 22.	Rev. xviii. 4.
Zech. vi. 13.	Heb. ii. 3.	Luke ii. 10, 11.	Luke xxiv. 27.	Joh. xviii. 36.	Rev. iii. 22.	Rev. iv. 1.	John xiv. 29.
Dan. ix. 24.	Dan. ix. 24.	Isa. liii.	Ps. ii.	Ps. ii.	Is. lvii.	Ezek. xxviii.	Rev. x. 7.
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Heb. iv. 8, 9.	Luke i. 32, 33.	John i. 45.	Matt. xi. 13.	Gal. iv. 1.	Hos. xii. 19.	Matt. xxiv. 35.	Rev. xix. 10.
Matt. xv. 13.	1 Cor. iii. 10, 11.	2 Thes. ii. 3.	2 Thes. ii. 3.	Dan. vii. 25.	Rev. xiii. 11.	Rev. xiii. 11.	Luke xxi. 24.
Luke xxiv. 27.	Matt. xxiii. 38, 39.	Rev. i. 3.	Rev. i. 3.	Rev. i. 3.	Rev. i. 3.	Rev. i. 3.	Rev. i. 3.
Acts iii. 24.	Amos iii. 7.	Is. xlvi. 10.	Is. lx. 3.	Deut. xxviii. 59.	Rev. xix. 10.	Is. xlii. 19, 20.	Dan. ii. 21, 22.
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Dan. viii. 13, 14.	Dan. vii. 15-18.	Dan. ix. 24.	Dan. ix. 25.	Dan. ix. 26.	Dan. ix. 27.	Rev. xiii. 5.	Rev. xx. 6.
Rev. xvii. 5.	Rev. xvii. 5, 6.	Luke xxiv. 46.	Do.	Do.	Luke xxiv. 25, 26.	Do.	Is. xlii. 26.
Dan. xi. 45.	Rev. v. 8-10.	Rev. vi. 1, 2.	Rev. vi. 17.	Rev. viii. 5, 6.	Rev. xi. 3, 4.	Rev. xiii. 5.	Rev. xvii. 18.
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
2 Thes. ii. 1-12.	2 Thes. ii. 1-12.	Rev. iv. 1.	Rev. xii. 17. Rev. xiii. 6.	Rev. xvii. 3-6.	Rev. xi. 3, 4.	Rev. xi. 1-3.	Rv. xi. 15-19. Rv. xxi. 5-8.

of Dr. Nicholson, Dr. Layard, and Rev. N. Raynard. But no Lectures seem to have been published by them. The entitled *Propædia Prophetica*, without heading texts : of which a 2nd Edition has just issued from the press. At three only printed as yet.

them,—the historic,¹ prophetic, miraculous, moral,—the experimental evidence of your own spiritual consciousness will add to intellectual convictions its own peculiar warmth, life, and unction. And deep, and abiding, and oh, how satisfying, will then be the feeling left alike in the heart and the understanding. “I have not followed cunningly devised fables, in what I have learnt of religion from the holy Bible. Its words are true and faithful. The Spirit witnesses so with my spirit. I have an evidence the most precious of experimental feeling within me, as well as convincing evidence of every kind external, that the religion of the Christian Scriptures is in very deed *the truth of God.*”

¹ I here include not only the evidence arising out of Scripture history, but all that too which arises out of the existence of Christianity as an historic fact.

APPENDIX.

I.

NOTICE OF PREVIOUS COURSES OF WarBURTONIAN LECTURES.

IN the Schedule on the other side the reader will see a list of my predecessors in the Warburtonian Lectureship ; with the texts of their several sermons. The subject laid down by Bishop Warburton being the same for all,—viz. “ *to prove the truth of revealed religion in general, and of the Christian in particular, from the completion of the prophecies in the Old and New Testament which relate to the Christian Church, and especially to the Apostacy of Papal Rome,*” —it becomes the rather a matter of curious interest to see how the Lecturers have severally varied in their mode of treating it, and on what points most largely followed out the argument. I have therefore determined on subjoining herewith a brief notice of them, in chronological succession.

1. *Hurd*.¹

In his 3 first Lectures this author lays down preliminarily the *true idea and intent of Scripture prophecy*, as declared in Scripture itself; viz, that its spirit is “ *the testimony of Jesus,*” the world’s promised redeemer. Whence an answer to sundry common ob-

¹ Then preacher to Lincoln’s Inn ; afterwards Bishop of Lichfield.

jections that have been made against the evidence of Scripture prophecy:¹—to that of its *obscurity*,² from the immensity, continuity, and gradual unfolding from the beginning of the prophetic scheme:—to that of its *double senses*, from the intimate connexion of its several parts; the prophet rising often from a lesser present topic to the greater one to come:—to that of its *confinement to one small people*, from the necessity of selecting a peculiar people (that same of which the Redeemer was to be born) to be the vehicle and repository of the sacred oracles:—and to that of the *doubtful evidence of fulfilment*, in various cases, alike from the nature of the subject, as being one the evidence of which was to be that of the whole, collectively considered, rather than that of detached predictions; and from the genius of the dispensation to which the scheme of prophecy belongs, as a dispensation of probation, trial, and moral discipline.

In the 4th Lecture the *general* argument from Scripture prophecy is enforced (though without exemplification) from the multiplicity, circumstantiality, and convergency to one point and person (viz. Jesus Christ) of the Scripture predictions; albeit sometimes the application may seem on slight grounds;³ and this is contrasted with the few detached heathen auguries for which fulfilment might most plausibly be asserted.⁴—In the 5th he illustrates this continuity, consistency, and convergency of Scripture

¹ *Celsus* is the ancient objector that Dr. Hurd refers to; *Collins* and *Dr. Middleton* the more modern.

² So *Celsus* of the Jewish and Christian oracles; ἀγνωστα, καὶ παροιίστρα, καὶ παντὴ ἀδηλα, ὧν το μὲν γινώμα οὐδεὶς ἀν ἐχὼν νοῦν εὐρεῖν δύναϊτο· ἀσαφὴ γὰρ, καὶ το μὴδεν. (lib. vii.) And again that they were applicable to other subjects besides those to which they were referred; τὰς εἰς τὰ περὶ τούτου (Ἰησοῦ) ἀναφερομένας προφητείας δύνασθαι καὶ ἀλλοῖς ἐφαρμογεῖν πραγμασι. (i. 39.) Nay, much more applicable; μυρίοις ἀλλοῖς ἐφαρμοσθῆναι δύνασθαι πολὺ πιθανότερον τὰ προφητικά ἢ τὰ Ἰησοῦ. ii. 28.

³ E. g. the secondary application to Christ of what primarily regards David or others. Dr. Hurd well illustrates this from Virgil's *Æneid*, and Spencer's *Fairy Queen*. Augustus being the person prominently in Virgil's mind, what is said by him of his hero *Æneas* is often chiefly meant of *Augustus*. And in Spencer, though the scene be laid in Fairy land, yet, when the fiction suits *Queen Elizabeth's* history, or that of the knights of her court, every one knows that the intended allusion is to them.

⁴ Especially the augur Vettius' prophecy of the Roman empire lasting twelve centuries, as indicated by Romulus' twelve vultures; a prophecy recorded by

prophecy, by reference to the prophecies respecting Christ's *first* coming : combating the objection that might be made against them from the Jews' rejection of Jesus in whom they all had fulfilment,—And, in the 6th, he illustrates the ever growing evidence of Scripture prophecy respecting Christ's *second* coming,¹ from the fulfilment of the New Testament predictions respecting the *destruction of Jerusalem*, both city and temple ; the *dispersion*, yet *preservation of the Jews, among all nations* ; and *conversion of the Gentiles* (not by the sword but) by the mere preaching of the Gospel : so as to make Christianity advance, as predicted, towards being the universal religion ; an idea too vast, says the Bishop, to have been entertained even by a Cæsar or Alexander.²

Then next comes the subject of *Antichrist*.—In the 7th Lecture, after stating with reference to Daniel's, St. Paul's, and St. John's prophecies of a coming antichristian power, one connected some way with the Roman empire, that the only question was whether this was fulfilled in *heathen Rome*, or *Papal Rome*, he notices the presumption against the former view from the fact that the Christians living under Rome heathen universally looked for Antichrist's coming as an event so far unfulfilled, and which was only to take place on the Roman empire's subversion or disrup-

Varro : and Seneca's prophecy of a discovery in later times of other lands beyond the ocean ;

Venient annis
Sæcula seris quibus oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus, Typhisque novos
Detegat orbes, nec sit terris
Ultima Thule.

¹ Christ's *first* coming was, in Bishop Hurd's meaning, as in that of all common parlance, his coming when born into our world. He does not, like Dr. Pearson, attach to it the strange meaning of his coming to destroy Jerusalem. (See p. 442 *infra*.) But of Christ's *second* coming he announces early in his 5th Lecture this equally strange notion : " Divines call the prophecies respecting the fate and fortunes of that kingdom which Christ came to establish in the world prophecies of his *second* coming. Which second advent of the Messiah is not, like the first, confined to one single and precise period, but is gradual and successive. For He comes in his power and providence through all ages of the Church : his second coming being connected with his resurrection, and which will continue to the end of the world. It is to be understood of every interposition, by any signal acts of his administration, for the advancement of his spiritual kingdom in the world."

² Celsus exclaims against the very idea on this point entertained by Christians, as absurd. p. 192.

tion : also the manner in which under the Papal regime, prior to the Reformation, there had been ever from time to time doctors who explained the prophecies as referring to *Papal* Rome :¹ and how, at the Reformation, all the Protestant doctors agreed in that view ; and pleaded the divine charge, “ Come out of her, my people,” as the justification of their separation from the Romish Church.—In the 8th Lecture he clears this doctrine about the Antichrist from current prejudices against it :—whether on the ground of its having been invented to serve a political necessity by the early Protestants ; on the ground of its being uncharitable ; on that of learned men like Grotius having disclaimed it ; or on that of believers in it having unwisely framed from Scripture prophecy chronological speculations on the future, proved untrue by the event.—Then, in the 9th Lecture, speaking of the symbolic language under which the prophecies about Antichrist were mostly couched, he notices how Mede, Daubuz, Vitringa, Warburton, and others, had shown it to be reducible to rule in the interpretation ; a rule drawn from the analogy of other Scriptures, and also from hieroglyphic and oneirocritic writings.—In the 10th Lecture, entering on the Apocalypse, he eulogizes Mede as its gifted interpreter ; and dwells specially on the synchronisms laid down by him, as a principle of arrangement in its prophecies.—In the 11th he states in detail the prophetic characteristics of Antichrist :—his connexion with the Roman empire, and following in time after its disruption ; his seat on Rome’s seven hills ; the nature of his power as ecclesiastical and professedly Christian, he being a lamb-like wild beast, and sitting in the temple of God ; also its being both tyrannical and idolatrous. Hence he concludes that the party meant is the Roman Pope.—In the 12th and concluding Lecture he notices the uses of the study of prophecy :—its inculcation of the dignity of Christianity which such a train of prophecy had prepared for ; the evidence given by it to the truth of Christianity ; and support too by such of its predictions as regard Antichrist to the Protestant faith and Churches. The two

¹ Dr. Hurd here draws freely from Bishop Newton’s book on prophecy.

great principles, he says, on which the Reformation was founded were 1st, that *the Pope is Antichrist*; 2ly, that *Holy Scripture is the sole rule of Christian faith*. After a while, as regards the latter principle, the Protestant doctors were inclined not to decline the challenge of the Papists to appeal to Scripture *as interpreted by the primitive fathers*. But soon the error was seen; the fathers (besides being so voluminous) writing often in so loose and declamatory a strain. Daillé showed that their authority was less than supposed: and Chillingworth, with Jeremy Taylor and others, reestablished the controversy with Rome on its proper Scriptural footing.

2. Hallifax.¹

Doctor Hallifax, treading closely in the steps of his predecessor, after a preliminary allusion to Christ's two prophecies of the *destruction of Jerusalem*, and *conversion of the Gentiles*, devotes his 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Lectures to the predictions respecting the *four great empires* in Dan. ii, vii; and those respecting *Antichrist*, shadowed forth by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in Dan. xi. Then, in the 5th and 6th Lectures, he expounds St. Paul's two prophecies in 2 Thess. ii, and 1 Tim. iv. 1, of the Romish Papal apostacy: and in the six remaining Lectures gives a general historical exposition of the Apocalyptic prophecy, professedly abstracting from *Mede*; on whom (like Hurd) he pronounces a high eulogy.—The authority of Daniel, as an authentic inspired prophet of the times of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus, is maintained by him against Porphyry and Collins;² and the apostolic authorship, and Domitianic date of the Apocalypse, against other objectors.

3. Bagot.³

In his introductory Lecture Dean Bagot, first of the Warburtonian Lecturers, touches briefly on the subject of the consistency

¹ Then Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph.

² In his concluding Lecture he alludes also to Hume's sceptical Essay on Miracles.

³ Dean of Christ Church; afterwards Bishop.

of God's predicting the future with man's freedom as a moral agent ;—" I will send him against an hypocritical nation : howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so : " then, noticing the conjunction of *miracles* and *prophecy* as evidences of Christianity, refers to Gibbon's attack on the one, and Hume's on the other. In Lectures 2, 3, the Old Testament prophecies of a dispensation to come different and larger than the Judaic are the subject, as to be fulfilled in Messiah's kingdom ; and Jesus Christ's prophecy of its gradually growing and extending every where, like the seed of the mustard-tree : in Lecture 4 the divine pre-existence, and human birth, of the Messiah : in Lecture 5 his propitiatory and mediatorial offices : in Lecture 6, the time of his coming, viz. after the establishment of the supremacy of the 4th of Daniel's four great empires, and before the destruction and dispersion of the Jews ; and with a prophetic herald moreover to precede and announce him : all which, he argues, (Lectures 7, 8, 9,) was fulfilled in Jesus Christ, and his coming and kingdom.— In Lecture 10 he turns to the Revelations ; and notes from the epistles to the seven Churches the fact of the predicted spirit of antichristianism having then begun to work in the Church : next, in Lecture 11, glances (for it is only a glance) at the fulfilment of the Seals in the progress and martyrdoms of the Church ; of the Trumpets in the Gothic, Saracenic,¹ and Turkish irruptions ; and of Apoc. x. (after *Daubuz*, who here " has improved on *Mede*,") in the Reformation : concluding, in Lecture 12, with the uses of prophecy, as explaining God's providence in the world ; and evidencing both the truth of the Christian faith, and value of our Protestant Reformation.²

4. *Apthorp*.³

In his 1st Lecture Dr. A. intimates his purpose of considering Scripture prophecy *critically* and *philologically*, while pursuing

¹ The 5 months of the symbolic locusts he explains, after *Daubuz*, of the interval between Mahomet's first public preaching A.D. 612, and the Saracens settling in 762 at Bagdad, the City of Peace.

² Like Hurd. See p. 436.

³ Rector of Mary-le-Bow.

the main object of the Lectures, i. e. the prophetic proof of the truth of Christianity ; and accordingly, at the end of each Lecture, adds Notes, often elaborate and learned, of that character.— It was in the schools of the prophets, he says, that the Jewish prophets were generally trained and prepared ; though the predictive afflatus was directly from God. And he then notes, as the four ages of Scripture prophecy, the *patriarchal and Mosaic* ; that of *David* ; that of the *sixteen prophets*, generally so called ; and that of *Christ and his apostles*. In Lecture 2 he lays down rules of interpretation : urging specially the authority of all New Testament expositions of Old Testament prophecy ; and noticing the prophecies by *action*, as well as *word* ; and the *double sense* and *allegories* of prophecy. He illustrates, in Lecture 3, from the predictions in Isaiah vii, viii, ix, xi, of the birth of Christ. Then in the three next Lectures he gives an elaborate exposition, both chronological and doctrinal, of Daniel's 70 hebdomads ; which (after Prideaux) he dates from the Decree of the 7th Artaxerxes, B. C. 457 : the middle of the last hebdomad being supposed by him to end with Christ's death, A. D. 29 ; and the remaining half hebdomad to have been occupied in preaching the gospel at Jerusalem ; down to the epoch of the first calling of the Gentiles.¹— In the 7th Lecture, he sets forth from Isa. liii Christ's predicted

¹ See the Notes following the 6th Lecture. Dr. A. gives a Chronological Table of the Seventy Weeks, with the jubilees and sabbatic years: from which I extract the particular dates following.

DECREE.	WEEKS.	B.C.	JUBILEE.	EVENTS.
7th Artaxerxes	1st begins	457	xxist.	Jesus Christ born.
	ends	451		
	7th ends	409	xxiid.	
	65th ends	3	. . .	
		A.D.*		
	66th ends	5		Christ's ministry, 1st year. Do. 3rd year. Christ's death in midst of 70th Week. Conversion of Paul, and of Cornelius the Gentile.
	69th ends	26		
		27	. . .	
		29	. . .	
		30	. . .	
	70th ends	33	xxxist.	

* Vulgar Æra.

propitiatory death ;¹ in the 8th and 9th, from Psalm ii, the establishment of his Church and kingdom against all opposing enemies : in the 10th explains Isaiah lvii. as a prophecy of the Romish Papal apostacy ; in the 11th, Ezek. xxviii as, under the symbol of Tyre, a prophecy of the empire of the Papal Antichrist : and finally, in Lecture 12, Apoc. x, like Bagot, as a prophecy of the Reformation.—His choice of texts in the Lectures 10 and 11 seems much to be regretted : considering the doubtfulness of this their application ; and the fact that other Scripture predictions abound on the same most important subject, which are clear and irrefragable. He herein, as² often elsewhere, follows Vitringa's elaborate exposition of Isaiah.

5. Nares.³

After noticing in his 1st Lecture the impostures of heathen diviners, and want of real prophetic evidence to all other religions except that revealed in Holy Scripture, Mr. N. adopts Hurd's main division of Scripture prophecies, to be considered by him, into those respecting *Christ, the founder of the Christian Church*, and those respecting *the fortunes of Christ's Church, or kingdom*, after his coming. Then, in the eight next Lectures, he expounds *in chronological order* the several prophecies respecting *Christ*, 1st, of the patriarchs and Moses ; (including the types of the Mosaic ceremonial law ;) then of *David and Solomon* ; (the book of Canticles by the latter being considered prophetic of Christ's union with his Church ;) then those of the *later Jewish prophets*, down to Malachi. The just remark is made more than once, that predictions of which the fulfilment was to be immediate, or speedy, were intermixt with those of more distant range ; so as to be a kind of guarantee to each then existing generation of the prophet's inspiration, and truth of his predictions that were still unfulfilled. Next, in Lecture 9, he adverts to the prophecies of *John*

¹ In his Notes to the 7th Lect. pp. 58, 70, Dr. A. refers to the Rabbinical application of this prophecy to the Jewish people : a subject more fully entered into afterwards by Dr. M'Caul.

² In concluding (p. 340) Dr. A. speculates hopefully on the coming future. This was just before the outbreak of the terrible French Revolution.

³ Archdeacon of Stafford.

the Baptist respecting Christ.—Then, in the remaining Lectures, we have the prophecies of the fortunes, prosperous and adverse, of *Christ's Church*;—the rejection of Jews, conversion of Gentiles, destruction of Jerusalem : also, from Dan. xi., the apostacy of the Christianized Romans ; from Apoc. ix. the irruption of Saracens and Turks ; from Daniel, St. Paul, and the Apocalypse, the coming of Antichrist. With regard to the truth of the Roman Pope being the great predicted Man of Sin and Antichrist, so persuaded, says Mr. N., was Bishop Warburton of it, that “he made the supporting of it an express condition for the Preachers of these Lectures.”¹

6. *Dr. Pearson.*²

To obviate a preliminary objection to the study of prophecy, Dr. P. in his 1st Lecture undertakes to show the consistency of God's foreknowledge (as implied in prophecy) with man's free will : and, in order to this, moots the strange proposition, that it is “to be doubted whether God has a foreknowledge of those actions of his intelligent creatures in which they are free.”³ In Lecture 2, he specifies the intended great purposes of Scripture prophecy : viz. not to enable men to predict the future : but 1st, when fulfilled, to be evidence of the truth of Christianity ; and, 2ly, while unfulfilled, to keep Christians watchful, guard them against incoming errors, and comfort them in time of tribulation by assurance of better times to come. In the 3rd he suggests, with reference to the variety of interpretations of fulfilled prophecies, that this may be considered to arise very much from prejudice, or want of proper learning : adding, that as this learning had increased of late, more light had been thrown on prophecy, and much that was difficult before been made clear. He exemplifies in the prophecy of Dan. viii, now justly applied, he says, by Mr. Faber and Mr. Whittaker, to *Mahommedanism* ; and that of Isaiah vii respecting Emmanuel's birth, as explained by Dr.

¹ P. 343.—I see nothing original, or at all elaborate, in this set of Lectures.

² Master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and Christian Advocate in that University.

³ P. 15. Compare my pp. 437, 445.

Postlethwaite.¹—Of Lecture 4 the subject is the rapid spread of Christianity, till established in the Roman empire by Constantine ; with notice of Gibbon's inadequate account of the causes of it : of Lecture 5, the check to its progress : a check caused partly from cessation of the miracles attending its first preaching, more from the corruption that then increasingly characterised professing Christians ; and which had been predicted, as well as its progress and spread.—In Lecture 6 the subject is not prophetic, but rather practical, on the mixt zeal and judgment with which Missionary enterprize for the propagation of Christianity should now be characterized.—In Lectures 7 and 8 (differing herein from Bishop Warburton and all the preceding Lecturers) he disclaims the application of what is said in 2 Thess. ii. respecting the apostacy and Man of Sin to Papal Rome. The *day of the Lord* meant by St. Paul, he says, is the day of Christ's " first coming " to destroy Jerusalem ;² the *Man of Sin*, and *Antichrist*, an impersonation of the false Christs and false prophets that Christ spoke of as to appear before that event ; the *apostacy*, the consequent delusion of many professing Christians ; also the "*let*" that hindered for a while these false Christs' manifestation, the circumstance of the Gospel not having been then preached to all nations ; which event was to be ere the end (of Jerusalem) should come. Thus, in fact, the whole passage was rather a statement of the present, than prediction of the future.³—In the little horn

¹ This prophecy, he says, had been so variously interpreted as to render it almost doubtful whether it had in fact any relation to the person of Christ. But Dr. P. had proved that " it is a distinct and literal prediction of the birth of Christ ; and that the speedy deliverance of Judæa from the confederate kings was to be the *sign* to Ahaz and the whole house of David, that the promise of salvation to mankind through the seed of David should certainly be made good."

² See my Note p. 435 *suprà*.

³ This seems a strange and most unsatisfactory explanation ; though, I believe, it has been adopted by some modern expositors. 1st, the day of the Lord is evidently (2 Thess. ii. 1) that of the gathering of the saints to him ; which same gathering is in 1 Thess. iv. 15—17 assigned to the time of the resurrection at Christ's second coming. 2ly, the Jewish false Christs and false prophets before the destruction of Jerusalem did not sit in the temple, shewing themselves to be God ; nor indeed were they of pretensions so similar as to be capable of a common impersonation, such as Dr. P. supposes. 3ly, there were Jewish false Christs and false prophets, e. g. Barcohab, after the destruction of Jerusalem ; (as Dr. P. has

of Dan. vii. however, and in the lamb-like beast of Apoc. xiii., Dr. P. does see the Papacy predicted :¹ and so he “ confidently ” expounds those prophecies in Lectures 9, 10, and 11. Moreover, in passing, he explains the little horn of Dan. viii. as symbolic of Mahomet ; and in concluding the Lecture congratulates his hearers on the institution (so antagonistically to Popery) of the National School Society, and the Bible Society. In Lecture 12 he argues (with reference to the Jews) that Scripture prophecy predicts their conversion to Christianity ; but not their restoration to their own land.

7. *Allwood*.²

Considering that general abstract questions concerning Scripture prophecies had been sufficiently discussed in previous Lectures, Mr. A. devotes his Lectures exclusively to the evidence in detail arising out of their fulfilment : the six first treating of those delivered *before* the destruction of Jerusalem, the six last of those delivered *after* it.—Subject of Lecture 1, “ In thee shall all nations of the earth be blessed ; ” the tendency of Christianity to promote human happiness being here strongly dwelt on : subject of Lecture 2, the Jewish ceremonial law, as typical of the gospel :³ that of Lecture 3, the prophecies concerning John the Baptist ; that of Lectures 4 and 5, the prophecies relative to Christ personally ;—his miraculous incarnation, time, place, and family, of

occasion indeed at p. 369 to notice ;) as well as before it. Whereas the Man of Sin was to be utterly annihilated at Christ's second coming.

¹ The great Beast of Apoc. xiii. he makes the secular Roman empire : its six first heads, as other expositors, the regal, consular, dictatorial, decemviral, tribunitia, imperial heads of government. The seventh head he expounds as the ten Romano-Gothic kingdoms ; and the eighth as the revival of the imperial form under Charlemagne.

At p. 449 Dr. P., after Grotius, expresses his opinion that the Apocalypse was written in Nero's time ; but without any reasoning to support it. This, as in the case of other such expositors, is necessary to justify his application of the 6th Apocalyptic seal (p. 371) to the destruction of Jerusalem.

² Fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge.

³ The Feast of Tabernacles (p. 88) he speaks of as in a manner typical of Christ's birth : and in a Note at p. 371 he cites Jennings' argument to show that this took place not on Dec. 25, on which we celebrate it ; but about Michaelmas.

his birth, style of life, and circumstances of death,¹ resurrection, and ascension : that of Lecture 6, the destruction of Jerusalem, and dispersion and destined restoration of the Jews.—The other six Lectures contain a continuous historical exposition of the Apocalypse : the Seals being applied to the Roman history, down to Constantine ;² the Trumpets to the Goths, Saracens, and Turks ; Apoc. x. to the Reformation ; and the prophecies of the Beast and Babylon in Apoc. xiii. and xvii. to the Papacy.³

8. Davison.⁴

By way of preliminary to the main argument in this very valuable volume, it is laid down in the Introduction that, instead of there being any antecedent probability against a revelation from God, such as the prophetic argument is meant to substantiate, the fact of the disproportion between man's intellectual capacity and present attainments seems rather to make it probable that he must be intended for some future state of greater knowledge of God ; and therefore that a revelation is probable, to prepare him for it. It is to distinguish a *true* revelation from a *pretended* one that religious evidences are chiefly useful.—Then in his 1st Lecture Mr. D. urges the connection of the *prophetic* with the various other evidences of Christianity ;—its *miracles*, its *morality*, its founder

¹ At p. 162 the prophecy of Daniel's 70 weeks comes to be alluded to : and in an elaborate Note at p. 392, in the Appendix, he gives his view of this prophecy, very similar in many points to that of Prideaux and Apthorp.* Like them he makes the period begin with the 7th of Artaxerxes ; reach the middle of the last week at Christ's death, A.D. 30, by which an end " was put to the further efficacy of the Jewish rites ; " and terminate A.D. 33 with the conversion of the Gentile Cornelius. The 7th week he supposes with Prideaux to have ended with Nehemiah's death ; who, as Josephus relates, died at a great age ; and after whose death a change was made in the government of Judæa ; and the administration of the state commanded by the governors of Syria to the High Priest.

² He explains the Seals thus, not very happily : — the 1st of Trajan ; the 2nd of Hadrian ; the 3rd of the two Antonines ; the 4th of the period from Commodus to Dioclesian.

³ Mr. Alwood afterwards published a Commentary on the Apocalypse in two volumes.

⁴ Sometime Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, afterwards Prebendary of Worcester.

* The same, I see, is also the view of Dr. Pearson. See his pp. 172, 422.

Jesus Christ's own character, its rapid propagation, and suitability to man's nature and wants;—for it is on the cumulative evidence of all these that its credibility rests. In Lecture 2 he notes the intermixture of Scripture *prophecy* in the prophetic books with Scripture *doctrine*,—doctrine of the highest moral excellence;¹ and as confirmed moreover by the several prophets' own evident integrity of character. Then in the 4 next Lectures, which are indeed lengthened into dissertations, he sketches in chronological order the state of prophecy,—in the patriarchal age, the times of Moses and Joshua, the times of Samuel, David, and Solomon, and those from Solomon to Malachi, respectively: (the last being ranged under four minor subdivisions :) connecting in this survey the *history* of the time when it was given with the *prophecy* itself; noting from Abraham's time the double line of temporal and spiritual promises; and how “it was engrafted upon the exigency of times and persons, and made to serve as a light of direction to the attentive observers of it, before the event had set the seal to its truth.”²—In the 7th Lecture he discusses in a masterly manner the difficult subject of the union of the divine foreknowledge with the liberty of human action; noticing the objections of Hobbes, Bayle, and Collins on this head, against all prophetic inspiration; and justly protesting against Dr. Pearson's attempted solution of the difficulty by asserting that the free actions of men are not within the divine prescience.³ With Locke he rests on our innate conviction of both God's omniscience and man's freedom of action; and refers the solution of the apparent contradiction to the immensity and incomprehensible resources of the divine mind.—In the 8th Lecture Mr. D. lays down the criteria of prophetic inspiration: viz. “the known promulgation of the prophecy prior to the event; the clear and palpable fulfilment of it; and the nature of the event as being

¹ He speaks of the doctrine in the prophetic books, properly so called, as holding a place of excellence between the law and the gospel: and notices two points particularly on which they give higher views than the Mosaic law, viz. the doctrine of Providence, as overruling all mundane affairs; and the doctrine of repentance, as *individually* efficacious with God, through the atonement.

² P. 99.

³ See p. 441 *suprà*.

that which, when the prediction was given, could not have been foreseen by any supposable effort of reason, or deduced on principles of calculation derived from probability or experience.”¹ Judged of by which criteria, he, in the remaining Lectures, sets forth as decisive on the question, the several prophecies of the *establishment of the Christian religion in the world*, including the history and character of its founder :—the predictions concerning the *Jewish people* :—the predictions of Daniel, St. Paul, and St. John, concerning the *great apostacy*, as fulfilled in the *Papacy* :²—the predictions concerning *Nineveh*, *Babylon*, *Tyre*, *Egypt* :—and that respecting the succession of the *four great empires* in the prophet Daniel.

Such is a brief abstract of the contents of this volume. But I cannot pass from it without bearing my testimony to the matured wisdom, and philosophic comprehensiveness of mind, that breathe throughout it. No earnest enquirer after the truth should omit a deliberate thoughtful consideration of the Book.

9. *Lyall*.³

The Dissertation, in which form the Lectures of Dean Lyall were after the lapse of some ten or twelve years published, is entitled *Propædia Prophetica*, or “ *The preparatory education of prophecy*.” It is a book of close reasoning, full of matter ; and not very easy in consequence to abstract in any slight sketch, such as has been given of the Lectures preceding. Under these circumstances I thankfully avail myself of a sketch which the Dean has been so kind as to procure for me from the pen of his nephew, the Rev. H. Carrington, Dean of Bocking : one more familiar with it than myself ; and more able to do it what justice such limits allow.

“ The main object of this work (which embraces a variety of converging topics) is to show, merely as a question of *historical*

¹ P. 379.

² Mr. D. had evidently as little doubt on this application of the prophecies of the Man of Sin and Antichrist as Bishop Warburton himself. Dr. Pearson’s different solution he does not seem to have judged worth notice.

³ Then Archdeacon of Colchester ; now Dean of Canterbury.

fact, the means by which the belief in Christianity was originally propagated, and that its establishment was the just and reasonable result of those means. And this without detracting from the efficacy of *miracles*, to which their specific province is assigned.

“ It is affirmed that the means by which this end was brought about, and without which it could not have been accomplished, was the *Preparation of Prophecy* : that is, by the minds of men having been trained through the fulfilment of previous predictions, to look forward with full reliance for the accomplishment of other prophecies from the same source ; and to believe that both the prophecies and their fulfilment were from God : having in fact been led by prophecy to expect a certain event, the fulfilment of which was expected by them, in the sense offered by the Founder of Christianity and his followers ; which interpretation therefore they concluded to be of *divine authority*.

“ With this view it is shown that Christianity consists of two distinct orders of propositions :—1st, those that enunciate *facts* ; as that a person should be born and live and die in a fixt place, time, manner, &c. :—2ly, those that enunciate *doctrines*, or *opinions* ; as that this person should be of a certain nature, and die for a certain purpose, &c. ;—and that, including types, Scripture prophecy is a scheme of such contrivance and capacity that both these orders of propositions are rendered capable of demonstration.

“ And, generally, it is contended that the whole scheme of prophecy was evidently a contrivance adapted to a particular and specific end ; viz. the preparing mankind for a belief in a proposed revelation : and that this scheme and contrivance was of such a nature, of so many and various parts, so long previously prepared, each answering some particular purpose towards the one same end, that no wisdom, providence, or power, short of that of the Supreme Ruler, could have been its author or contriver.

“ Assuming the *end* to be divine, the *means* by which it was accomplished must have been the same.”

10. *Nolan*.¹

Mr. N.'s selected subject is professedly and distinctively the *chronological periods* of Scripture prophecy. In this he includes the whole mundane chronology; considered chiefly on the *sabbatical* principle, as made up of six millenniums preceding the seventh millenary of sabbatical rest.—The correctness of the Usserian chronology of the world is assumed, making the interval from the Creation to Christ 4000 years. A hazardous assumption (as it seems to me), on which so much to rest the prophetic evidence of the truth of Christianity; and one of which, the truth, as I conceive, is more than doubtful.²—The commencing epoch of *sabbatical years*³ he dates, not from the Creation, (though the world's seventh or sabbatic millenary is thence dated :) but from Sunday, Oct. 24, of the 5th year after : because a great sabbatical period of 2555 years ($=365 \times 7$) reaches thence to the date of Israel's entrance on their rest in Canaan.—The 430 years of Exod. xii. 30, and Gal. iii. 17, reckoned (as usual) from *Abraham's call* to the exodus, and the 400 years of Gen. xv. 13, reckoned from Isaac's weaning, (which Mr. N. states to have occurred among the Jews in the child's 5th year,⁴) are considered in Lecture 2 :—the 390 years and 40 years of Israel and Judah's sin, measured from Jeroboam's apostacy and Josiah's reformation respectively, in Lecture 3 :⁵—the 70 years that the land was to enjoy its sabbaths, during the Babylonish captivity, in Lecture 4 :—the 2300 evening-mornings of Dan. viii, which he makes to mean *half* that number of *days*, because on each day there was both a morning and an evening sacrifice,⁶ and so to signify the 1150 days of Antiochus Epiphanes' desolation of the Jewish temple, in Lecture 5 :—also the 1260 and 1290 days, or years, of

¹ Vicar of Prittlewell, Essex.

² For my own part I have been led, after careful consideration of the subject, to adopt in preference Mr. Fynes Clinton's chronology of the world; which makes the interval between the Creation and the Birth of Christ some 140 years more than Usher's. Others prefer the still longer chronology of the Septuagint.

³ See on this Nolan, p. 366.

⁴ P. 350.

⁵ I do not see how an epoch of reformation can well be considered an epoch of sin.

⁶ Pp. 117, 418.

Antichrist, Dan. vii. and xi, in Lecture 6. The commencing dates of these last-mentioned prophetic periods he fixes at the years A. D. 736 and 706 respectively, by measuring back from A. M. 6000, when the sabbatic millenary is to begin : while the 1335 days of Dan. xii. 12 he construes, not on the same principle as the 1290 years, viz. as made up of 75 years added to the 1260 : (they would then extend beyond his date of the sabbatic millenary, A.M. 6000 :) but as altogether *preceding* the 1260 years, and so commencing at B. C. 599, the epoch of the spoliation of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar.¹—Lectures 7, 8, 9, 10, are devoted to Daniel's great prophecy of the 70 hebdomads. These Mr. N. dates (like his predecessors Aphthorp and Alwood) from the 7th of Artaxerxes, B. C. 457 : with this difference however, that he supposes Christ's death not to have occurred till his 37th year, i. e. A. D. 34, according to the vulgar æra ; and so there fixes the conclusion of the 70 hebdomads.² Christ's ministry is made to extend through the whole septenary of years, from A. D. 27 to 34 ; half in private, half public.³ The cessation of the ob-

¹ Pp. 152—155, 387. See 2 Kings xxiv. 14.

² He gives at p. 479 from Dodwell a tabular view of the *days of the week* on which the passover fell in the years from A.D. 28 to 34 ; as follows.

A.D.	NISAN THE 14TH.		JULIAN PERIOD.
28	Tuesday,	March 20	4741
29	Monday,	April 18	4742
30	Friday,	April 7	4743
31	Wednesday,	March 28	4744
32	Monday,	April 14	4745
33	Monday,	April 6	4746
34	Friday,	March 26	4747

Hence either A.D. 30, or A.D. 34, might seem to have been the year of the crucifixion, *supposing the Table correct*, and the *crucifixion day* to have been the *Pass-over day* : either point open to doubt and exception.*

³ See p. 484.—In alluding at p. 473 to John viii. 56, "Thou art not yet fifty years old, &c," Mr. N. explains it by reference to Num. iv. 3, where the age for the Levitical ministry is fixed between the limits of 30 and 50. As one actually ministering in God's name the Jews judged that Jesus could not be 50 years old.

* Sir I. Newton's calculations, given in the xth chapter of his book on Daniel, differ materially, except for the years 31, 32. His 14th Nisan for A.D. 30 is Saturday March 25 ; for 33 Friday April 3 ; for 34 Friday April 23. As Mr. N. had Sir I. N.'s book before him (see pp. 448, 451, &c.) it seems strange that he should not have noted this difference.—Compare however on this subject the more accurate Tables drawn out by the present Astronomer Royal, p. 461 *infra*.

lation and sacrifice Mr. N. supposes to have arisen in the midst of the last week, *from Pilate's abstracting the corban*, which was deposited in the temple as a provision for the *temple sacrifices*, among other objects :¹ an event which he infers to have occurred A. D. 30.

In Lecture 11 he explains the Beast of Apoc. xiii. to be the Papal power ; its destined duration of 1260 years being measured, as before, from A. D. 736. The two witnesses he considers to have been Daniel and St. John ; who testified by their written prophecies against the Papal apostacy, all the time of its continuance. Their death, resurrection, and ascension, correspondently with this hypothesis, he does not attempt to explain. The woman of Apoc. xii. he supposes to mean the Jewish Church.—Lecture 12 is on the Sabbatical millenary ; beginning A. D. 6000, on Antichrist's destruction.²

11. *M'Caul*.³

Dr. M. divides the Scripture prophecies respecting Christianity and Christ, on which his argument is to be founded, into the *three* classes following :—1st, those of which the fulfilment is *patent to our own eyes* ; 2ly, those of which the fulfilment is *recorded in the New Testament* ; 3ly, those of which the fulfilment is *still future*.—Before entering however on his main argument, he meets in Lecture 1, with his well-known learning on such subjects, the modern Jews' objection, that all appeal to prophecy about Jesus Christ is vain, because his claims to be Messiah were examined and rejected by a tribunal of divine institution, viz. the Sanhedrim ; and one endowed, according to what is implied respecting "the judge" in Deut. xvii. 9, with infallibility. Against this the Lecturer argues, 1st, that, even under the first temple, Scripture itself represents priests, judges, and people, as involved in apostacy from God, (e. g. Ezek. viii. 9—11,) and consequently any thing but the material for an infallible tribunal : 2ly, that the Sanhedrim was not the tribunal instituted by Moses, but one dif-

¹ Pp. 253, 437.

² There is much valuable and learned chronological research in the Notes of the Appendix to Mr. N.'s volume ; especially at pp. 444—452, on the 70 hebdomads.

³ Professor of Divinity in King's College, London, and Prebendary of St. Paul's.

ferently constituted, of later and probably Greek origin, (the word *sanhedrim* being derived from the Greek *συνηδριον*;) and which at the time of Jesus was headed by Annas and Caiaphas; who, from Josephus' account, appear both of them to have been usurpers of the high priesthood by favour of the heathen Romans, and contrary to the law of God.—Again, in Lecture 2, he meets the Jewish *à priori* objection (as made by Maimonides and Orobio) that an incarnation of Deity, such as Christianity teaches, is an impossibility: answering it both on metaphysical grounds; (for by parity of reason the coexistence of an infinite Creator and a finite creation would be impossible;) and also from the continual representations in Old Testament Scripture of the manifestation of Jehovah under human form. Hence the idea was held by the Jewish Septuagint translators before Christ; by the Doctors of the Targum about the time of Christ; and for a thousand years after Christ, as appears from the Sohar, the Talmud, and most Rabbinical writers, down to Maimonides.

The *à priori* objections thus answered, Lectures 3 and 4 urge the argument that whereas *Old Testament* prophecies, of antiquity, at the latest, of some 400 years before Jesus, declared that one *born as man* of the posterity of Abraham, viz. the Messiah, though rejected by the Jews, should yet be regarded and worshipped in the Gentile world as the *Creator God*, (a thing unprecedented, for the *dæmon* gods of heathen-worship were regarded as of quite an inferior nature to the supreme eternal God,) so we see the fact to be at this present day in respect of *Jesus Christ*, over a large and ever-increasing part of the world; and that, moreover, the part the most advanced in learning and civilization.—Further, in Lectures 5 and 6 he urges the argument that, whereas *New Testament* prophecies (prophecies confessedly in date of the 1st century of the Christian *æra*) predicted a pseudo-Christian Church, as to arise on Rome's seven hills, and which should be idolatrous, pseudo-catholic, and a cruel persecutor of the truth, such a Church we see extant before our eyes in the Roman Catholic Church, now of many hundred years duration.¹

¹ I regret to see that Dr. M'Caul, while most strongly painting the iniquities

In Lectures 6, 7, and 8, Dr. M'Caul takes up the second class of prophecies noted by him at the commencement of his Lectures; viz. those of which the fulfilment is *recorded in the New Testament*. Having first, with much ability and success, in answer to Strauss's arguments against the Gospels, (as if but the embodiment in the 2nd century of floating traditionary legends of the century previous,) shown both that in *St. Paul's Epistles*, the date and authority of which are not contested, there is sufficient evidence of all main facts respecting Jesus, and moreover that the *Gospels* bear on them internal marks of a date earlier, rather than later, than that of the *Epistles*,—he proceeds to illustrate from the one and the other the multitudinous details respecting the Messiah's birth, life, character, death, resurrection, &c. stated in Old Testament prophecies; and their fulfilment, one and all, in the there recorded history of Jesus of Nazareth.

In Lectures 10 and 11, Dr. M. takes up the third class of prophecies, viz. those *unfulfilled*, respecting Messiah's glorious kingdom on earth, and the converted Jews' participation in its glory: noticing the Jews' perpetual objection to the truth of Christianity, that the prophets announce Messiah's kingdom as one of glory, whereas the kingdom of Jesus has been one rather of humiliation and patience. Dr. M. strongly argues against the allegoric interpretation which would explain such prophecies respecting the

and blasphemies of the Papal Church, intimates his disbelief of the *Pope* being *Antichrist*. His disbelief however is based altogether on an obvious misapprehension of what is said in Apoc. xvii. 16, respecting "the ten horns of the *Beast* (which *Beast* Dr. M. considers, both as described in Apoc. xiii and xvii, to be *Antichrist*) bating the whore, and making her desolate, and burning her with fire." Hence he infers that *Antichrist* is to be the destroyer of Papal Rome.*

But the *Angel's explanation* comprehends *Rome Imperial*, as well as *Rome Papal*: witness what is said in verses 10, 17 of the *Beast's* successive heads of government, and of her being the city that then ruled over the kings of the earth. Now it is *Rome Papal* distinctively that is *pictured* as upheld by the *Beast, Antichrist*. First the ten kings were to desolate and burn *Rome imperial*: then, subjecting their power to the *Beast Antichrist*, to be *Papal Rome's supporters*. Such seems the purport of the prophecy and vision. And just so it was with the Gothic kings in the 5th and following centuries.—As to *Papal Rome's* destruction, it was not to be by human agency: but, as Dr. M'Caul himself observes (i. 135), by a destruction like that of *Sodom*: a volcanic catastrophe, only more dreadful.

* So Bishop Hurd also, p. 263.

glories of Jerusalem and the Jews as if meant of the Christian Church : and insists on the two comings of Messiah, as distinctly predicted in prophecy ; the one in humiliation, when the Jews would reject him ; the other in glory, when the repentant and converted Jews will acknowledge him, and be the earthly centre of the glories of his kingdom on earth. He cites Bishop Butler, among other great English divines, as showing that this answer to Jewish objectors is “agreeable to sobriety of judgment and soundness of reason.”¹

There is an Appendix of learned Notes, with reference to the correct interpretation of certain Old Testament Messianic passages, contested between Jews and Christians.

12. *Harrison.*²

His general object, he says in his Preface, has been “to ascertain and mark certain portions of Scripture prophecy which may be considered as already placed by general consent, in regard to their fulfilment, out of the reach of doubt or question.”

After some preliminary observations in the 1st Lecture on the importance of looking to early apostolic tradition, where it has spoken, for the true interpretation of prophecy, the Archdeacon devotes the four next Lectures to Daniel’s prophecies ; the remainder to those in the Apocalypse.

In Lecture 2, the usual explanation is given of the four empires in Dan. ii : with this exception, that whereas Mede and others make the stone’s destruction of the image to synchronize with Christ’s second coming, Mr. H. refers the stone’s striking the image, and breaking it to pieces, to the times when Christianity overthrew heathenism in the Roman empire in the 4th and 5th centuries ; the ten toes being explained of the invading Gothic powers in the 5th century, (the clay mixt with the iron,) who were then just about obtaining their kingdom : after which time the emperors

¹ ii. 114. I have myself, at p. 407, referred to Bishop Butler, with the same object of confirming by his great authority the doctrine of the *Pope* being the *Man of Sin* and *Antichrist*.

² Archdeacon of Maidstone.

and kings “abandoned the Church to the Bishops :” and so “the God of heaven set up his kingdom under its divinely-appointed rulers.”¹ In the 3rd Lecture, however, the little horn rising up amidst the ten larger horns of the 4th Beast, or Roman Empire, is made to signify the Pope. (Does not this seem to identify God’s kingdom and the Papal kingdom ?)² Lecture 4 explains the little horn of Dan. viii. as figuring Antiochus Epiphanes ; with the idea of Mahomedanism being perhaps also figured by it : and Lecture 5 the self-deifying king of Dan. xi. as Antichrist, whether come, or to come ;³ he being the same probably as the Man of Sin, and the little horn ;⁴ which latter, however, the Lecturer has already explained to be the Pope.—In these Lectures the objections of Drs. S. R. Maitland and Todd are cursorily considered, and answered.

Of the remaining Lectures the *Apocalyptic prophecy* is the subject.—Lecture 6 is preliminary, on the temple scenery in the vision : Lectures 7, 8, on the seals : the four first being explained (after Christ’s prophecy, Matt. xxiv.) of the gospel’s triumphant progress, the wars and rumours of wars, the famine of the word of God, and Antichrist’s power as destroying spiritual life among men ; the 5th seal, of the martyrdoms of Christians ; the 6th, of “some great crisis and consummation in the history of God’s dispensations, revealing the prospect of that general overthrow which should in due time involve in it the whole world.”⁵—The four first Trumpets are explained in Lecture 9 (collectively) of the Gothic irruptions ; the 5th Trumpet of heresies (e. g. the Arian), rather than of the Saracens ; the 6th of the Turks, or both Saracens and Turks.—In Lecture 10 the explanation of the 1260 *days* of the Witnesses and the Beast, as meaning 1260 *years*, is vindicated ; and the two Witnesses explained as “national Churches”⁶ maintaining the faith during

¹ Similar is the view propounded by Mr. Robert Wilberforce, late Archdeacon, now a seceder to Rome : similar too that propounded by Romish doctors.

² Archdeacon Harrison, at p. 389, disclaims any such inference. But I think the Papists would have the advantage of the argument with him.

³ P. 143, 144.

⁴ P. 88.

⁵ P. 230. Dean Woodhouse’s commentary is in considerable measure followed by this Lecturer.

⁶ P. 313. So, he says, Alex. Knox.

the apostacy : the *holy city*, trodden meanwhile by the apostate power, meaning the *visible Church*. What and where these witnessing Churches, he does not say ; nor when the 1260 years began. But he thinks the death and resurrection of the two witnesses to be an event yet future ; reasoning from the words *ὅταν τελεσῶσι τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτῶν*, as if correctly rendered in our English version, “ When they shall have *finished* their testimony.”¹—In Lecture 11 the Dragon’s expulsion from heaven in Apoc. xii. is explained, after Newton and others, of the triumph of Christianity over Heathenism in the Roman Empire, in the times of Constantine and Theodosius ; the Beast in Apoc. xiii., of the Papal empire ; and, in the 12th and concluding Lecture, the Babylon of Apoc. xvii. of course as figuring Papal Rome.

13. *Maurice*.²

Mr. M. having only published the three first of his Lectures, it is difficult for one who did not hear them to form any sufficiently correct notion of his Warburtonian argument. At page 5, in the introduction to his Lectures, he thus speaks :—“ A modern historical student does not in general care much for coincidences :³ those which are presented to him by Scriptural interpreters he is apt to regard either as merely fortuitous, or as produced by an ingenious distortion of words and facts. What he seeks for is some law which may connect together the different facts he has observed in ecclesiastical or general history. He is willing to hear whether Scripture recognizes such a law : he will admit only this proof of its superiority to any which has occurred to himself in the course of his meditations, that it better explains the actual course of events, and more successfully clears away apparent anomalies.”—He then proposes in his *first* Triad of Lectures to set forth such a principle from the Epistle to the Hebrews, as implied in the Old Testament, fulfilled in the New : in the *second* Triad to show that under different aspects this principle is the central one

¹ See on the incorrectness of this my pp. 318—320 and 351—357 preceding.

² Rev. Frederic Maurice, Chaplain of Lincoln’s Inn.

³ How, but by this, would Mr. M. prove Jesus of Nazareth to be the Messiah of Old Testament prophecy?

in the other books of the New Testament : in the *third* Triad to apply this principle to the history of Christendom, in the period of its growth out of the Roman empire, in that of its conflict with Mahommedanism, and in the modern period dating from the 14th century : in the *fourth*, to consider the Romish system formally, in reference to the Scriptural principle spoken of, to the working of that principle in the Church, and to the future destinies of the world.

This principle seems to be that of “ a divine personal centre of the universe, and of true human society,”¹ in the God-man Jesus Christ. “ God hath spoken to us by his Son.”

¹ P. lxii. of Introduction.

A.D.	ROMAN EMPERORS.	GOVERNORS OF JUDEA.	SCRIPTURE AUTHORITIES.	CHRIS
30 -	TIBERIUS began 19th Aug. A.D. 14.	Pontius Pilate (3rd year of govt.)		CHRIS
35			¹ Acts ii. 42-47 ; iv. 32-37 ; v. 13, 14 ; 34-40.	Formation and
	C. CALIGULA 16th Mar. 37.	Marullus.	² Acts ix. 19. ³ Gal. i. 17, 18. ⁴ 2 Cor. xi. 32, 33. Acts ix. 23-35.	
40 -	CLAUDIUS 25 Jan. 41.	HEROD AGRIPPA	⁵ Gal. i. 18. Acts ix. 26-28 ; xxii. 17-21 ; Rom. ix. 32. ⁶ Acts ix. 30 ; xi. 25 ; xv. 23 ; Gal. i. 21. 2 Cor. xi. 23-27. ⁷ Acts xi. 26.	VISITS TO JERUSALEM 1st ; to see Peter. ⁵
45		Cuspius Fadus	⁸ Acts xi. 30 ; xii. 25.	2nd ; with alms for famine. ⁸
		Tiberius Alexander	⁹ Acts xiii. 2, 3. ¹⁰ Ib. xiii and xiv.	
50 -	Jews expelled from Rome.	Cumanus	¹¹ Ib. xiv. 28. ¹² Ib. xv. 2-30. ¹³ Ib. xv. 40	3rd ; Council. ¹²
		Felix	¹⁴ Ib. xviii. 11. ¹⁵ Ib. 21, 22. ¹⁶ Ib. 23. ¹⁷ Ibid.	4th ; " the Feast." A.D. 52. ¹⁵
55	NERO 13th Oct. 54.		¹⁸ Ib. xix. 1-10. ¹⁹ Ib. xx. 3. ²⁰ Ib. xx. 16 ; xxi. 17, 27. ²¹ Ib. xxiv. 27.	5th ; Pentecost, A.D. 57, and Tumult. ²⁰
60 -		Festus	²² Ib. xxvii. 9. ²³ Ib. xxviii. 11.	
	Burrhus' death early in 62.	Albinus	²⁴ Ib. 26, 30. ²⁵ Rom. xv. 28.	
65	Fire at Rome July 64.		²⁶ 1 Tim. i. 3 ; Tit. i. 5 ; iii. 12 ; iv. 13, 20. ²⁷ 2 Tim. i. 8, 17.	
		Jewish war begun		
70 -	GALBA ; Jun. 68 OTHO ; Jan. 69. VITELL. VESPAS. July 69.	Jerusalem taken		* The great Laod

CHRISTIAN CHURCH.		A.D.
CHRIST'S ASCENSION, May A.D. 30 (?)		30
or		
perhaps A.D. 34.		
Formation and Consolidation of the Church at Jerusalem. ¹		
Stephen's Martyrdom.		35
PAUL'S CONVERSION.		
Damascus. ²		
Three years partly in Arabia, ³ partly in Damascus under Aretas. ⁴		
TO JERUSALEM	MISSIONARY JOURNEYS, ETC.	EPISTLES.
to see Peter. ⁵	HOME MISSION	
	in	
	Tarsus and Cilicia. ⁶	
	Antioch,	
with alms for famine. ⁸	for "a whole year." ⁷	45
	Antioch.	
	1ST GREAT MISSIONARY TOUR. ⁹	
	Cyprus, Perga, Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe; return by Perga and Attalia. ¹⁰	
	Antioch.	
and Council. ¹²	"There they abode a long time." ¹¹ (1 year?)	
	Antioch.	50
	2ND GREAT MISSIONARY TOUR. ¹³	
	Syria, Cilicia, Lycaenia, Phrygia, Galatia, Mysia, Troas, Philippi, Thessalonica, Athens, Corinth.	1st and 2nd Thessalonians.
"the Feast." A.D. 52. ¹⁵	Corinth, 1½ year. ¹⁴	
	Return by Ephesus, Cæsarea, to Jerusalem.	
	Antioch	
	staid there some time. ¹⁶	
	3RD GREAT MISSIONARY TOUR. ¹⁷	
	Phrygia, Galatia, Ephesus.	
	At Ephesus	
	staid 2½ years. ¹⁸	Galatians
	Macedonia, Achaia; Corinth 3 months. ¹⁹	1 Corinthians
	Return by Macedonia, Troas, Miletus, Tyre, Cæsarea, Jerusalem.	2 Corinthians, Romans
	Imprisonment at Cæsarea,	
	for two years. ²¹	
	Voyage and shipwreck at Malta; ²²	
	Oct. and Nov. 59.	
	Winter at Malta ²³	
	Arrival at Rome in the spring of 60.	Colossians,* Philemon, Ephesians.
	First imprisonment at Rome	
	for two years ²⁴	Philippians
	ends in spring of 62 A.D.	
	(Spain?) ²⁵	
	4TH MISSIONARY TOUR.	Hebrews
	Crete, Ephesus, Macedon, Nicopolis,	1 Timothy, Titus
	Corinth, Miletus. ²⁶	65
	Second imprisonment at Rome.	
	Martyrdom.	2nd Timothy
	"Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness."	
* The great Laodicean earthquake in the 6th of Nero, or before 13th of October in the year A.D. 60.		70

II.

THE PAULINE CHRONOLOGY.

AMONG the data on which the chronological Chart opposite has been constructed, the following are the points to which I have to invite more particular attention. I arrange them under the two general heads, Ist, of *what precedes and introduces the chronology of Paul's history*; IIly, of *what concerns that chronology itself*.

I. With reference then to *the primary date of* A. D. 30, I assign it hypothetically to *Christ's ascension*, as the earliest date at all probable: preferring however 34, from consideration alike of what may be gathered from the *Gospels* respecting the chronology of Christ's life; of certain *astronomical facts* that may be brought to bear on the question; and of the intimations respecting it in *Daniel's famous prophecy of the 70 hebdomads*: a prophecy of which notice has already been made more than once in my abstract of the Lectures of Warburtonian Lecturers that have preceded me.¹

1. As regards the *Gospels*, I presume it to be a point settled that the death of Herod the Great, mentioned in Matt. ii. 19—22, took place near the spring equinox of the year 4 B.C.²: (i. e. in the 4th year before the beginning of the *vulgar* Christian æra :) and consequently that Christ's birth must have occurred either earlier

¹ More especially of Aphthorp and Nolan. See pp. 439, 449 *suprà*. Also the Note ¹ at p. 444.

² On the eclipse very shortly before Herod's death, and which happened also shortly before a Passover, (so Josephus Ant. xvii. 6. 4, B. J. ii. 1. 3,) the Astronomer Royal refers me to the last edition of *L'Art de Verifier les Dates*, as remarkably accurate and trustworthy. The eclipse is fixed to Mar. 13, B.C. 4.

in that same year; or rather, probably, in one of the later autumnal months of the year 5 B. C. preceding.¹ Hence his age would have been *about* 30 (which is the age that St. Luke assigns to him at the time of his baptism by John) towards the close of the year 26 A. D. i. e. of the Vulgar Christian æra.—With this we have to compare what is said in Luke iii. 1, of its having been in the 15th year of Tiberius that John the Baptist began his ministry. Now the 15th year of Tiberius, dated from his *sole* supremacy at the death of Augustus, (an event which took place not till the 19th of August A. D. 14,) would have begun on the 19th of August A. D. 28. But some two years before his death Tiberius had been associated by Augustus in the administration of the provinces of the Roman Empire;² whence, in those provinces, a computation of the years of his reign from that earlier date.³ Such seems to

¹ Lightfoot, on Luke ii. 8, tells from the Rabbis that the Jewish shepherds used to keep their flocks in the open pastures (so as was the case at the birth of Christ) only from Passover till about the end of October.

Every one knows, with reference to the *day* assigned to Christ's birth in the Calendar, Dec. 25, that there is no real ground for it whatsoever. See on this the observations of Sir I. Newton in the xith chapter of his Book on Daniel. They, he says, who began to celebrate such anniversaries "placed them in the cardinal periods of the year:—as the *Annunciation of the Virgin Mary* on March 25, which (when Julius Cæsar corrected the Calendar) was the vernal equinox; the *Feast of John the Baptist* on the 24th June, which was the summer solstice; the *Feast of St. Michael* on Sept. 29, which was the autumnal equinox; and the *birth of Christ* on the winter solstice Dec. 25." p. 158. Ed. Borthwick.

It is evident from what Clement of Alexandria says, Strom. i, "Sunt qui curiosius natali Domini non solum *annum*, sed etiam *diem*, addunt," and the very various notions which he then reports on the question, that at that time (A. D. 190) there existed no tradition at all authoritative about it in the Christian Church. The selection of Dec. 25 for Christmas-day was made however as early as the time of Chrysostom and Augustine.

² So Tiberius' friend and attendant Vell. Paterculus, Hist. Rom. ii. 121: "Senatus populusque Romanus (postulante patre ejus) ut æquum ei jus in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque, esset quàm erat ipsi decreto amplexus esset." This was just as Tiberius was returning to Rome to triumph. Which took place A. D. 12. (Clinton, Fasti Rom.) So too Suetonius, in his Life of Tiberius, c. 21. Compare Eckhel on Tiberius, ad ann. v. c. 766.—Luke calls it Tiberius' *ἡγεμονία*, not *βασίλεια*.

What Tacitus reports, in his Ann. i. 3. of Tiberius having been adopted as colleague by Augustus, ("filius, collega imperii, consors Tribunitiæ potestatis adsumitur,") appears from Vell. Paterculus' statement (ii. 104) to have occurred some 9 or 10 years earlier. See Clinton's Fasti; ad Ann. A. D. iv.—There is a good summary of evidence on the chronological question in Elsley on Luke iii. 1.

³ See Sir I. Newton *ibid*.

have been the case in the verse in St. Luke : and, so calculated, the 15th year of Tiberius might be considered as beginning from the autumn of A. D. 26. Soon after which time, say in the spring of 27, Jesus Christ would have completed his 30th year. And just then (in agreement with other indications of time mentioned in Luke iii. 1, 2) Pilate would have entered, according to Josephus, on his ten years government of Judæa ; (a period ending in the spring of 37, just before the death of Tiberius ;) and have found on arriving there Caiaphas (son in law of Ananus, or Annas) to be High Priest : he having been made successor to Simon by Pilate's predecessor Valerius Gratus, as almost his last act before leaving Judæa.¹

Now it seems clear, from comparison of St. John's and the other Gospels, that Christ must have attended *at least* four Passovers at Jerusalem, subsequently to his baptism.² And, supposing this to have been the precise and entire number that elapsed during his ministry, the time of his death would fall three years after, to the Passover of A. D. 30. On the other hand, supposing other passovers to have elapsed in the interval which are unre-

¹ Joseph. Ant. xviii. 2. 2 ; 4. 2.

² See on this Sir I. Newton, *ibid.* (p. 171.) He makes the number of passovers to be *five* ; and thus sums up his view of the evidence. "The 1st passover was between the baptism of Christ and imprisonment of John (John ii. 13) ;—the 2nd within four months after the imprisonment of John, and Christ's beginning to preach in Galilee (John iv. 35) ; (this being either that feast to which Jesus went up when the scribe desired to follow him (Matt. viii. 19, Luke ix. 51, 57, or the feast before it :) the 3rd the next feast after it, when the corn was eared and ripe (Matt. xii. 1, Luke vi. 1) : the 4th that which was nigh at hand when Christ wrought the miracle of the five loaves (Matt. xiv. 15, John vi. 4, 5) : and the 5th that in which Christ suffered (Matt. xx. 17, John xii. 1)."

"Between the 1st and 2nd Passover," he adds, "John and Christ baptized together, till the imprisonment of John, which was four months before the 2nd. Then Christ began to preach and call his disciples ; and, after he had instructed them a year, sent them to preach in the cities of the Jews : at the same time John, hearing of the fame of Christ, sent to him to know who he was. At the 3rd the chief priests began to consult about the death of Christ. A little before the 4th the twelve, after they had preached a year in all the cities, returned to Christ : and at the same time Herod beheaded John in prison, after he had been in prison 2½ years. The 4th Christ went not up to Jerusalem for fear of the Jews, who had consulted his death, and because his time was not yet come. Thenceforth, till the feast of tabernacles, he walked in Galilee : and after it was sometimes at Jerusalem, sometimes retired beyond the Jordan, or to the city of Ephraim in the wilderness, till the Passover in which he was crucified."

corded by the Evangelists, (a supposition not unreasonable to the extent of some 3 or 4) then the epoch of his death might have fallen at the Passover of any of the next four years 31, 32, 33, or 34.—And which then, preferably, of all the five?

2. At this point of enquiry the investigations of astronomical science become available, as bearing on the following question :— In which of the years from 30 to 34, inclusive, did the day of the Passover, or 14th of the month Nisan, (the first Jewish lunar month at the vernal equinox,) fall on the *Thursday*, or *Friday*; so as must have been the case (the *one* or the *other*,) in the year of Christ's crucifixion?—I say the *one* or the *other*; because learned commentators are divided in opinion on the point whether the true passover day (i. e. the 14th day of Nisan)¹ was the day of Christ's eating the passover with his disciples,² or the next following day of his crucifixion.³ If the *former*, then the 14th day of Nisan must in the year of the Crucifixion have fallen on the *Thursday*: if the *latter*, then *Friday* must have been the day of the week corresponding.

And here I am thankful to be able to furnish my readers with a tabular scheme of the week-days on which the 14th Nisan

¹ Michaelis, in his Note 197 on the Laws of Moses, advances the opinion that the 15th of Nisan, not the 14th, was the day appointed by Moses for eating the paschal lamb. But, so far at least as regards the time of *killing* the lamb, the passages referred to by him, Lev. xxiii. 5—8, Numb. xxviii. 16—27, do not seem to me to bear out the notion.

Let me, in corroboration of the usual view taken on this point, mention that the interesting deputy from the Samaritan community at Nablous, or Sychar, Jacob esh Shelaby, now in England, informs me that the Samaritans sacrifice the lamb of the passover upon Mount Gerizim, on the evening of the 14th day of Nisan, just as the *lower rim* of the setting sun is seen *first* to touch the western waters of the Mediterranean. (Moses commanded the lamb to be slain on the 14th *between the two evenings*: i. e. between the sun's afternoon decline and setting, or between 3 and 6 P.M. at the vernal equinox.) The paschal *feast* is prolonged into part of the 15th day; which, agreeably with the old Jewish custom, begins with the completed sunset. Mr. Rogers, the intelligent British consul at Caiffa, was present on Mount Gerizim, he tells me, on one of these very interesting paschal festivals.

² This is the view of Lightfoot, Whitby, Scott, &c; grounded on what is said Matt. xxvi. 17—19, Mark xiv. 12, Luke xxii. 7, 8.

³ This is the view taken by Sir I. Newton, by my predecessors Messrs. Apthorp and Nolan in their Warburtonian Lectures, &c; and grounded on John xviii. 28, xix. 14.

TIMES OF NEW AND FULL MOON,

(Jerusalem Mean Solar Time, civil reckoning.) in the Months of March and April, A.D. 29 to 34.

YEAR.	TRUE TIME OF		MEAN TIME OF	
	NEW MOON.	FULL MOON.	NEW MOON.	FULL MOON.
A.D. 29	Friday, March 4, 3h. A.M. Saturday, April 2, 7h. P.M.	Friday, March 18, 9h. P.M. Sunday, April 17, 5h. A.M.	Thursday, March 3, midnight. Saturday, April 2, 1h. P.M.	Friday, March 18, 6h. P.M. Sunday, April 17, 7h. A.M.
A.D. 30	Wednesday, March 22, 8h. P.M. Friday, April 21, noon.	Wednesday, March 8, 1h. P.M. Thursday, April 6, 9h. P.M.	Wednesday, March 22, 9h. P.M. Friday, April 21, 10h. A.M.	Wednesday, March 8, 3h. A.M. Thursday, April 6, 4h. P.M.
A.D. 31	Monday, March 12, 1h. A.M. Tuesday, April 10, 2h. P.M.	Tuesday, March 27, 1h. P.M. Wednesday, April 25, 10h. P.M.	Monday, March 12, 6h. A.M. Tuesday, April 10, 7h. P.M.	Tuesday, March 27, 1h. A.M. Wednesday, April 25, 1h. P.M.
A.D. 32	Friday, February 29, noon. Saturday, March 29, 10h. P.M. Monday, April 28, 9h. A.M.	Saturday, March 15, 10h. P.M. Monday, April 14, 11h. A.M.	Friday, Feb. 29, 3h. P.M. Sunday, March 30, 4h. A.M. Monday, April 28, 4h. P.M.	Saturday, March 15, 9h. A.M. Sunday, April 13, 10h. P.M.
A.D. 33	Thursday, March 19, noon. Friday, April 17, 9h. P.M.	Thursday, March 5, 1h. A.M. Friday, April 3, 5h. P.M.	Thursday, March 19, 1h. P.M. Saturday, April 18, 1h. A.M.	Wednesday, March 4, 6h. P.M. Friday, April 3, 7h. A.M.
A.D. 34	Tuesday, March 9, 5h. A.M. Wednesday, April 7, 1h. P.M.	Tuesday, March 23, 6h. P.M. Thursday, April 22, 10h. A.M.	Monday, March 8, 9h. P.M. Wednesday, April 7, 10h. A.M.	Tuesday, March 23, 4h. P.M. Thursday, April 22, 4h. A.M.

COMPUTATION OF THE 14TH DAY OF NISAN,

On the supposition that the Moon is visible at the first Sunset that occurs more than 18 hours after conjunction.

YEAR.	FIRST VISIBILITY OF THE MOON, AS INFERRED FROM TRUE CONJUNCTION.		1ST DAY OF NISAN.	14TH DAY OF NISAN.	DAY OF THE WEEK.
	EVENING OF	EVENING OF			
A.D. 29	March 5 April 3	March 4 (barely possible) March 5 (to be seen well) April 3	March 5 March 6 April 4	March 18 March 19 April 17	Friday. Saturday. Sunday.
A.D. 30	March 23	March 23	March 24	April 6	Thursday.
A.D. 31	March 13 April 11	March 13 April 11	March 14 April 12	March 27 April 25	Tuesday. Wednesday.
A.D. 32	March 30	March 31	March 31 April 1	April 13 April 14	Sunday. Monday.
A.D. 33	March 20	March 20	March 21	April 3	Friday.
A.D. 34	March 10 April 8	March 9 April 8	March 10 March 11 April 9	March 23 March 24 April 22	Tuesday. Wednesday. Thursday.

If the Moon were not visible unless sunset occurred more than 23 hours after conjunction, the line for A.D. 30 must be altered as follows :—

A.D. 30	March 24	March 24	March 25	April 7	Friday.
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1855, April 6. G. B. AIREY.

must have fallen in each and every one of the five years in question, kindly drawn up for me by our distinguished Astronomer Royal, G. B. Airey, Esq.; and which must consequently be regarded as of the highest possible authority.¹ Now, supposing that the month Nisan, in the Jewish reckonings of the time of Christ, began exactly from the conjunction of the sun and moon, the 1st of the two Tables shows that in the years 29, 31, 32, the 14th of Nisan must have fallen neither on the Thursday or Friday; but on Sunday,² Tuesday or Wednesday, and Monday respectively. And the same nearly, as appears from the 2nd Table, supposing the Jewish month to have begun, so as may probably have been the case, from the epoch of the *first visibility* of the new moon.³ Thus

¹ "The Jews still keep a tradition in their books that the Sanhedrim used diligently to define the new moons by sight; sending witnesses into mountainous places, and examining them about the moon's appearing." So Sir I. N. ubi supra.

He adds that, by the rule they called *Jah* (יָה), of which the letters signify 18, they began their month from the sunset next after the 18th hour from the conjunction.

² "I have considered, in the table, the new moon of A.D. 29, March 4; but I should think that this is too early in the year." G. B. A. I therefore take only the later calculation for that year.

³ Compare the Table from Dodwell given at p. 449. Mr. Airey writes me:—"As a general rule put no trust in astronomical calculations made in the last century."

In explanation of the Tables it is right that I should present the reader with Mr. Airey's observations on the subject to which they relate.

"If the day of celebration of the passover depended simply on the day of full moon, the calculation would be free from all doubt. But this evidently could not be the criterion of the passover-day. Large bodies of people were then collected, and this could only be done by *previous* arrangement, or by *prediction* of the day. And here arises the question,—How long before the actual time of passover was the day arranged? Was it from the new moon of the same lunation? Was it by something like almanacs, coming into use as early as the beginning of the year or the preceding year? And if so, what degree of accuracy was attempted in the predictions? The inequalities of the moon's motion will accelerate, or will retard, the new moon, or the full moon, by more than 12 hours. Were these taken into account? Or, was a mean interval of lunations used, so as to give what may be called canonical new and full moons, related to the true ones (though with far wider difference), as our canonical full moon is to the true for computation of Easter?

"I should conceive that these points can be settled only by reference to Rabbinical authorities. Meantime it seems evident that I should be aiding you little by merely computing one set of numbers. I have thought it necessary to exhibit the times both of new moon and of full moon for the months of March and April, in the years from A.D. 29 to A.D. 34. And not only the *true* times of these

the years 30, 33, and 34 seem on that account to be the only years that can be brought into question. And if we conclude

the phenomena, but also the *mean* times: that is, the times at which they would have occurred had there been no irregularities of motion either of the sun or of the moon; and therefore the times easiest for a rude people to predict, at least with a common correction to all. If the times were predicted long before, I conceive that these *mean* times are most likely to have been used. If the times were arranged from the last observed new moon, then of course the *true* new moon governs the whole.—In the estimation of the time of true new moon (i. e. of conjunction of sun and moon) from the first visibility of the moon, you must remark that the months of March and April are *very* favourable for early visibility of the moon; and that in Judea, if the moon was 18 hours old about the time of sunset, she would probably be seen. But you must remember that the new moon can be seen *only* immediately after sunset.

“The times which I send are computed from Largeteau’s tables, and are accurate to a fraction of an hour; assuming, as I have reason to do from the accuracy of the computer, that no blunder has been made. The times are Jerusalem mean solar times. The reckoning civil, and the style Julian.”* * *

“I must again say I should desire Rabbinical authority for the *traditions* of the method of computing the Jewish calendar: at the same time stating that I have at various times had correspondence with Jewish authorities on astronomical points connected with the modern ceremonial, and that I have found them disposed to place very little confidence on their own science. Perhaps I may add that, as the best astronomy of the time had been used by Julius Cæsar in correcting the Roman Calendar, it is not impossible that its influence had reached the provincial Jews.

“Suppose then that in the unlearned times the new moon was just visible immediately after sunset (the only time in the 24 hours when it can possibly be seen); or suppose that in more learned times it was predicted that, weather permitting, the moon would be visible for the first time on a certain evening at sunset. The Jewish day begins at sunset. Therefore the sunset in question would be the beginning both of the day and of the month, or would be the beginning of the first day of the month: and if it was the proper season of the year, it would be the beginning of the first day of the month Nisan.* The principal part of this day would fall into what in the reckoning of western nations is the next day. That next day therefore is properly the first day of Nisan.

“Consider, for example, the year A.D. 33.

“Conjunction of sun and moon occurred on March 19 at noon. The mean time (which would probably be used for the calendar) is March 19, 1h. P.M. The moon could not be seen on the evening of the 19th, but would *certainly* be visible both in truth and in prediction) on the evening of the 20th.

“Therefore March 21 was the 1st day of Nisan.

“Therefore the 14th day of Nisan was April 3, which was a Friday.

“The conditions of the present chronological problem would therefore be satisfied in this year: supposing my understanding of the Jewish calendar to be correct; and that the Jews’ *Passover-day*, or 14th Nisan, coincided with the *day of Christ’s crucifixion*.”

* “If 23 hours of moon’s age were necessary for the moon’s visibility, then in A.D. 30 the first visibility would fall on March 24, and the 14th of Nisan would be April 7, a Friday. But I do not think 23 hours necessary.”

that the Passover day was that on which Christ had the passover killed,¹ then A. D. 30, or 34, might either, on this astronomical evidence, have been the year of the crucifixion.—On the other hand if we judge that our Lord anticipated the day, and that the true Jewish Passover day, or 14th of the month Nisan, was that when Christ our Passover was sacrificed for us, then the year would seem fixed to A. D. 33.—My own mind inclines certainly to the former hypothesis;² and consequently (in the astronomical view of the question) to the idea of 30, or rather 34, A. D. being the true year of the crucifixion.³

3. As to the prophecy of *the 70 hebdomads* it is somewhat curious that, owing to the ambiguity of meaning attached to the Hebrew word *מַלְאָכִים* in Dan. ix. 27, the prophecy would answer on supposition of either year. For it means both *the half*,⁴ and *the middle*.⁵ Measuring 70 hebdomads, or 490 years, from the 7th of

¹ In this case Jesus Christ had the lamb killed on the evening of the 14th, probably a little before sunset; and then sate down with the disciples to the paschal feast. But prolonging it into the advancing evening, or night, which began the 15th of Nisan in the Jewish reckoning, he did then institute the Lord's supper: and so put the *Christian paschal feast* a day forward, correspondingly with the day of the sacrifice of himself, the true paschal Lamb, a few hours later; just as he put the *Christian sabbath* also a day forward, by his resurrection on the first day of the week.—Compare the Samaritan practice mentioned Note ¹ p. 460.

² The statements in Matthew, Mark, and Luke, referred to Note ² p. 460, appear to me almost decisive.—In John xviii. 28 * the feast of unleavened bread, called often the feast of the passover, seems meant; and the *παρασκευή του πασχα* in John xix. 14, 31, to have been the preparation of the passover sabbath. See Whitby. Mark xv. 42, I think, so explains it.

³ Could we trust the Church tradition (on which point the Constit. Apostol. v. 20 are referred to by Calmet,) that the first great Christian day of Pentecost fell on a Sunday, that fact would seem to be confirmatory of the opinion exprest above.

For 50 days were to be counted from the 2nd day of the feast of unleavened bread, or 16th of Nisan. (Levit. xxiii. 16.) And the seven weeks thence counted, or 49 days, were "to be complete." Then the day after these 49 days, i. e. the 50th day, was to be the day of Pentecost.—Now if Thursday in the year of the crucifixion was the week-day on which the paschal lamb was slain, and Friday therefore the 1st day of the feast of unleavened bread, Saturday the 2nd day,—then Saturday 7 weeks afterwards would be the day ending the 7 weeks; and Sunday the 50th, or Pentecostal day.

The *Quartadeciman* sectaries of the 2nd century curiously substituted Christ's resurrection day for the passover day, as that the anniversary of which was to be on the 14th of the moon.

⁴ So Exod. xxiv. 6, 2 Sam. xviii. 3.

⁵ So Judg. xvi. 3. See Gesenius.

* "The Jews went not into the judgment-hall; but that they might eat the passover."

Artaxerxes, April¹ B. C. 457, the full term would end April A. D. 34. And if this be the year of the crucifixion, we must suppose the last *half* of the last week, or that which comprehended Christ's own ministry, ending with his death, to have been the time during which, *through that ministry and death*, the whole efficacy of the Jewish sacrificial system was made, as the prophet says, to cease.² If the year 30 A. D. be the true year, then we must suppose the Angel to have meant that in the *middle* of the 70th, or last hebdomad, the virtue of the sacrifices and offerings of the Jewish ritual would be made by Christ's death to cease.

As before said, I incline myself to the year 34; as offering time, which the date 30 hardly does, for both John Baptist's and Christ's ministry.³ The data however of the question having been thus set before the reader, he will form his own judgment on them.

IIly, as to the *Pauline Chronology*.—And here,

1. I would observe that, even supposing the earlier date, A. D. 30, to be chosen as the date of the ascension, the passages of the Acts referred to in the notes to my Pauline Chart will be found to indicate breaks of time sufficient to fill up the chronological interval marked in the Chart between that date and the conversion of St. Paul, A. D. 36.⁴ Less than the interval between 34 and 36 it could hardly be.

2. With regard to *Aretas's* connexion with Damascus, as its ruling king, and appointer of its governor, so as St. Paul states to have been the case on his return from Arabia to Damascus,⁵ we have no very accurate information how it arose, or how long it continued. Damascus, we know, had been incorporated as a city of the Roman empire by Pompey a century before. And it is stated by Eckhel, under the head of *Damascus*, that there are Damascene imperial medals of Augustus, Tiberius, and Nero; but none, it would seem, of Caligula or Claudius, between Tiberius' time and Nero's. This favours the idea that Damascus came

¹ See Ezra vii. 9.

² So Prideaux. Compare Heb. x. 1—14, 18, &c.

³ On the arrangement of events during the last hebdomad, on this hypothesis, see the extracts from Sir I. Newton at p. 459 *suprà*; also p. 449.

⁴ See on this an elaborate essay of Mr. Greswell.

⁵ 2 Cor. xi. 32.

under the dominion of Aretas, king of Petra, about the time of Tiberius' death; near about which time my Chart places the Damascene governor's acting against St. Paul.—Some have accounted for this change of rule by reference to a war between Aretas and Herod Antipas, in which Herod was worsted: and to the fact that when Vitellius, then president of Syria, was marching from Antioch to Herod's assistance, the news of Tiberius' death reached him, and arrested his proceedings.¹ Hence perhaps a temporary falling of the Syrian border town into Aretas' power.—More probably, however, "Caligula, who in many ways contradicted the policy of his predecessor, who banished Herod Antipas, and patronized Herod Agrippa, assigned the city of Damascus [soon after his accession] as a free gift to Aretas."²

3. I refer to Paul's primary visit to Jerusalem the very interesting account given in Acts xxii. 17, of his trance in the temple, and pleading with God that he might act as missionary to the Jews; because the words, "Lord, they know that I imprisoned and beat in every synagogue them that believed on thee, and when thy martyr Stephen's blood was shed I was standing by," show evidently that this was the *first* visit made by him to Jerusalem after his conversion.—And this touching prayer of his seems to me to illustrate in a manner most interesting the much contested passage in Rom. ix. 3. For I doubt not that Dr. Burton's interpretation of the word *αναδεμα*, in that passage, is the correct one; and that the *Ηυχόμεν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἀναδεμα εἶναι ἀπὸ* (or *ὑπὸ*) *τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, means, "For I made it a matter of prayer that I might myself be specially devoted by Christ (as a missionary) on behalf of my brethren, my kindred according to the flesh." That the Greek word *αναδεμα* is sometimes used in the sense so given, as well as *αναδημα*, cannot be questioned.³ Moreover *ἀπο*, if we

¹ So e. g. Prof. Hug.

² So Wieseler. See Conybeare and Hewson's St. Paul, i. 89, 109. I have quoted from them in the text above.

³ So Schleusner on the word:—"Propriè, ut Hebraicum *קדש*, Lev. xxvii. 28, ("Every devoted thing that a man shall devote to the Lord is most holy,") omne id quod est humanis usibus exemptum, Deoque sepositum. *Ἀφορισμα* Alex. vertunt Ezech. xlv. 29. ("Every dedicated thing shall be theirs.") Suidas; *τὸ ἀνατιθέμενον τῷ Θεῷ*."

so read, is a preposition sometimes used in reference to a person causing, or effecting: though I prefer *ὑπο*, which is the preposition more generally used in that sense; and which is here a various reading.¹

4. The three years allowed in the Chart for the *Home Mission* at Tarsus, and in Cilicia, will furnish sufficient time for many of the sufferings mentioned in 2 Cor. xi. 23—26, of which no record is given in Luke's more particular account of the apostle's *subsequent* missionary tours and labors.

5. St. Paul's *second* visit to Jerusalem, with alms for the poorer Christians on occasion of the predicted famine, appears from comparison of Acts xii. 25 with xii. 1—24 to have taken place very shortly after Herod Agrippa's death. Which event Josephus fixes to early in A. D. 44; by stating that at his death he had governed Judæa 3 years, and that its government was given him by Claudius soon after his accession in January 41. (Ant. xix. 5. 1; 8. 2.) What is said in Acts xii. 20, about Tyre being nourished by Herod Agrippa's country, seems to imply that the famine had not just then begun in Judæa: while Josephus' notice of the Adiabedian Queen, who had become a Jewish proselyte, giving succour to the poor Jews at Jerusalem, when she found them suffering from famine there very shortly after Cuspius Fadus' undertaking the procuratorship of Judæa, on Herod's death, shows that the famine had begun by the next winter of 44—45 A. D.²

6. The Jerusalem Council I have placed at A. D. 49, or 50; having no doubt that it is the Jerusalem visit referred to in Gal. ii. 1. And then, measuring the 14 years there spoken of, as well as the three years of Gal. i. 18, from his conversion, which seems quite legitimate,³ the chronology will be seen well to agree with the date A. D. 36, assigned in the Chart to Paul's conversion.

¹ Schleusner on *απο* notes this as its primary sense: "Significat *a, ab*, ita ut *causam efficientem* indicet, et idem sit quod *ὑπο*." Hence he adds the fact that in MSS. *απο* and *ὑπο* are often interchanged. I may exemplify in Rom. xiii. 1: οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ ἀπο Θεοῦ αἱ δὲ οὐσαι ἐξουσία ὑπο Θεοῦ τεταγμεναι εἰσιν.

² So, I see, very similarly Messrs. Conyheare and Hewson, ii. 561.

³ So Macknight and others.

7. The exact date of Claudius' expulsion of the Jews from Rome is not any where stated in history. It must have occurred, however, somewhere about the time I have assigned to it ; having happened shortly before St. Paul's arrival at Corinth. So far as regards the argument on this point with Bellarmine and the Romanists, this is all that is necessary.

8. In the chronological arrangement of the great Missionary Tours I have of course had careful regard to what is reported of the length of time that the apostle staid in certain places ; and to that which ought to be allowed for his journeys, and for his shorter stoppings from time to time on the way.—Having drawn it up for myself, independently of other authors, it is a gratification to me to find that there is thus far a great measure of agreement between the chronology of my Chart and that of Messrs. Conybeare and Hewson.

9. In their arrangement, however, of St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, they have overlooked the very important fact of the Laodicean earthquake, mentioned by Tacitus as having happened in the 6th year of Nero.¹ This, of course, (supposing it correct) determines the writing of the Epistle to the Colossians to a time previous to that at which the news of the earthquake could have reached Rome.² And, as Nero's 6th year ended on the 13th October, A. D. 60, we must consider the epistle to have been written not much later (at furthest) than the end of that month of October, or beginning of the November. Now, supposing the apostle to have arrived in Rome in February or March of that year, this date of the Epistle to the Colossians would be quite natural and suitable. Messrs. C. and H.'s date of his arrival there in the spring of A. D. 61 is plainly inconsistent with the fact just stated.

In the date of St. Paul's voyage and arrival at Rome, thus given by me, there is nothing inconsistent with what we learn respecting the times of Felix' government from history, sacred or profane. In Acts xxiv. 10, just at the commencement of his two years'

¹ Tacit. Ann. xiv. 27.

² See Col. iv. 15, 16.

imprisonment at Cæsarea, and consequently in the summer of 57, according to my Chart, St. Paul speaks of Felix having been for many years judge to the Jewish nation. (ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν κριτὴν οὐτα τῷ ἔθνει τετρω.) · Now if his appointment to the procuratorship of Judæa took place, as Tacitus states,¹ some time before the 12th year of Claudius, A. D. 52, this would perfectly answer to the apostle's statement. Josephus dates it at the beginning of Claudius' 13th year. But I agree with Ernesti,² and Clinton,³ in preferring Tacitus.

What Messrs. C. and H. (p. 563) state from Wieseler as to Albinus, Festus' successor, being in office in the autumn of 62, "and perhaps considerably before that time," well accords with this view of the chronology. For Festus is not stated to have died in Judæa so very speedily after his assuming the government. On the contrary various events appear (as C. and H. indeed admit) to have happened in the interval. Now even my date for his succeeding Felix, viz. the summer of 59, would only allow him two or three years before Albinus. One year seems insufficient.

The fact of Burrhus, the captain of the prætorian guard, having died early in A. D. 62, as we learn from Tacitus,⁴ and of Nero's appointment of *two* prætorian captains to succeed him, compared with Acts xxviii. 16, where the centurion is said to have delivered Paul to "*the captain of the guard*," in the singular, has been often noted by critical expositors, as indicating that Paul arrived in Rome before Burrhus' death.

10. The arrangement of the last missionary tour, as gathered from the 1st Epistle to Timothy and that to Titus, is much the same as that given by Paley.—There is supposed in the Chart to have been the space of some $3\frac{1}{2}$ years between Paul's liberation from his first imprisonment at Rome, and his martyrdom.

11. The dates of the Roman emperors in the first column of the Chart are taken from Clinton's *Fasti Romani*. The *Bracket* that will be seen on one side of this column, includes the years

¹ Annal. xii. 54.

² Ad loc.

³ Tacit. Ann. xiv. 51. On the early time of year when this happened compare what is told of as intervening in chs. 52, 53.

⁴ Fasti Rom. Ad Ann. 52.

that Bellarmine, Baronius, and other chief Romish writers assign to Peter's first and second (supposed) sojournings in Rome and its neighbourhood, as his episcopal diocese. The inspection of them will help, I think, to make very familiar to the minds of my readers the force of the argument drawn out against the whole Romish Petrine theory in my 7th Lecture.

III.

DOUBTS AS TO THE VALIDITY, ON TRACTARIAN PRINCIPLES, OF THE CLERICAL ORDERS OF THE TRACTARIAN CLERGY.

(See p. 387.)

It seems to me that the argument in the Letter following, though originating from circumstances of a local character, may be of general usefulness ; and I therefore here insert it. It is published for local circulation in a separate form by itself. In explanation of the circumstances that gave it birth, the Preface is printed, as well as the Letter.

PREFACE.

In the Spring of 1854, as may be remembered, there was a great deal of agitation in the public mind at Brighton, on the subject of certain doctrines inculcated, and practices acted out, in the Church of St. Paul's, West Street ; more especially that of private confession to the priest, and consequent priestly absolution. Public meetings were held against it ; and remonstrances sent, alike from laity and clergy, to the Bishop of Chichester ; who had himself indeed, previously, expressed in strong terms his disapprobation of the practice. On the other hand it was protested on the part of the officials of St. Paul's, both ministers and wardens, that all was in accordance with the doctrine and spirit of the Church of England. So, at a public meeting in the Town Hall, argued the Rev. Messrs. Neale and Perry. And so too, in a printed

Appeal, the Rev. Mr. Gresley, Prebendary of Lichfield; who, though not incumbent of St. Paul's, had for some time taken a very prominent part in its ministrations. A copy of this Appeal was sent by its Author to each of the resident Clergy in Brighton, as well as to other persons. It asserted strongly the duty of the priest, when satisfied of the real penitence of the confessing party, "to pronounce the solemn words, *I absolve thee from all thy sins*, by virtue of *Christ's authority committed unto him*;" spoke of the *priest's absolution* as "*God's pardon*;"¹ and added how that, "by means of this confession and absolution, many a deeply burdened sinner had been brought to Christ, and assured of pardon and peace."

In acknowledging the receipt of this Paper, I took the liberty of stating to Mr. Gresley that, "while persuaded of the benevolence of his intentions in the matter, it was equally my persuasion that in assuming to himself, and to the clerical brethren in the Church of England who generally agreed with him in sentiment, the power of authoritatively giving absolution to the penitent, he did so without adequate consideration: that, on their own principles, the possession of any such authority by them was more than questionable: and that, if so, then the whole system, as inculcated and carried out at St. Paul's and other such churches, must be of course a *delusion*; delusion on a great scale, and to the injury, instead of the saving, of souls."—On Mr. Gresley's calling for proof of this, the Letter following was at once sketched out: but its completion, and publication, deferred on Mr. G.'s suggesting that it would be well first to wait for an expected letter on the subject from the Bishop himself.

¹ "And who would not desire it (sc. the priest's absolution) who knew the deep comforts of God's pardon?" p. 2.

Mr. G. then thus proceeds. "Some will doubtless say, as the Pharisees did, 'Who can forgive sins but God alone?' Of course no one can, except God give him authority to do so in his name. But has God ever given authority to any human being to forgive sins? Yes. In John xx. 21, Jesus said (to the apostles) 'Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.'"—And then he argues from the Bishop's form of words on ordaining a priest, and from certain words in the service for the Visitation of the Sick, that the Church of England considers the power still to continue with its ordained ministers.

Since that time, above a year has elapsed. And, as the Bishop's expected letter has not yet appeared, it seems probable that, on a review of all circumstances of the case, he has judged it better not to publish any. Hence all reason on this account for delaying the publication of my reply to Mr. Gresley's question may be considered to have come to an end. And as the subject is of great importance, and the view that I take of it one that unquestionably deals with its very essence, but which has not hitherto, so far as I am aware, been urged in other publications that have arisen out of the controversy, I have felt it a duty without further delay to complete my Letter, and to publish it.—There will be this advantage in the delay which has occurred, that the heats of party feeling, which were locally manifested a year ago, may be supposed in some considerable measure to have now past away : and consequently that the minds of those to whom, in the person of Mr. Gresley, this letter is virtually addressed, may be disposed to consider its argument more dispassionately.

LETTER TO THE REV. W. GRESLEY.

Brighton, July 1, 1855.

REV. SIR ;

Reverting to a correspondence that past some time since between us, on the subject of *confession and absolution* as inculcated and practised at St. Paul's, I feel it my duty, after above a year's delay for reasons which you yourself suggested, to defer no longer the completion and publication of my reply to your printed Circular of appeal on that subject. You may remember that in my first letter, acknowledging its receipt, I express my doubts as to clergymen of the Church of England having on your own principles (the principles generally called Tractarian) any power, like that which you claimed for yourself and your brethren, of authoritatively confessing and absolving ; such as to warrant to the absolved penitent the comfortable assurance which you hold out, as consequent on it, of God's forgiveness of their sins.¹ I say, *on*

¹ See the Note p. 473.

your own principles. For when, in your reply, you overlooked that important clause in my expression of doubt, and spoke of the authority attaching to Clergymen *on Church of England principles*, as the point in question, I called your attention to it; and intimated that I considered our English Church's view of the grounds of the ministerial commission and authority to be not only different from that of the Tractarian school, but essentially contrary.—This point I propose in my present Letter *first* to illustrate; and then, *secondly*, to show *on your own principles* the more than questionableness of any such priestly authority really attaching to yourself, and your clerical brethren of the Tractarian school, as you claim and exercise; whether for absolution of the confest penitent, for the imparting of sacramentarian change,¹ and sacramentarian virtue, to the elements of bread and wine by consecration, or for other such like priestly acts and functions.

I. My FIRST main point is the difference of view as to the *source*, and *medium of transmission*, of the *ministerial commission and authority*, as taught by our English Church, and as taught by the self-styled Anglo-Catholic or Tractarian School.

On this important question the doctrine of the Church of England is set forth in its 23rd and 36th Articles. While in the latter of the two affirming, against both Popish and other dissentients, the propriety and sufficiency of the Anglican rites of ordination for the three orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons,² (which three orders it truly states in its Preface to the Ordination Services to have been ever, even from Apostolic times, in the Christian Church,) in the former it so defines lawfully ordained ministers in Christ's Church as not to exclude the unepiscopally ordained

¹ Tract xc. 51; "Our 28th Article denies not *every kind of change*." (!!)—Tr. lxxi. 9, confesses that the difference of the Tractarian doctrine on this point from that of *transubstantiation* is not very distinguishable by common minds.

² After stating that the Book of the English Church's Ordination Services contains all things that are necessary to the consecration of bishops, and ordaining of priests and deacons, it adds; "And therefore whosoever have been consecrated or ordered (ordained) according to the rites of that book, since the 2nd year of King of Edward the 6th, . . . we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered." How well does this article steer clear of the difficulties of the Tractarian apostolical succession theory!

ministers of other Protestant reformed Churches :—"Those persons we ought to judge lawfully called, and sent, (i. e. "for public preaching, and ministering the sacraments in the congregation,") which be chosen, and called to this work, by men who have public authority given them in the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard." Accordant with which was the conduct pursued by the Church of England, for some time after its reformation, towards the reformed Churches on the continent; the friendly and intimate intercourse maintained with them; the recognition, even by act of Parliament, of their non-episcopally ordained ministers;¹ and admission of them sometimes to preferment in the English Church, or English universities. It might seem like a memento and reiteration of this, almost in our own day, when Lutheran missionaries like Schwartz and Kolhoff were employed in its missions by the Christian Knowledge Society.

How different from this are the views profest by the Tractarian doctors, you well know. The doctrine of what is called *apostolical succession*, strictly construed, lies at the very foundation of the whole Tractarian theological system. In the Preface to the 1st Volume of the Oxford Tracts the object of the Tracts was declared to be the practical revival of certain church-doctrines, as applicable to the ministers of the Church of England, of which *apostolical succession* was the primary one. "The Lord Jesus gave his spirit to his Apostles; they in turn laid their hands on those who should succeed them; and they again on others: and so the

¹ "The prelates of Elizabeth's reign, like the earlier reformers, considered episcopacy, as retained in the English Church, to have been the apostolic practice. They did not however consider any mode of government essential to the constitution of the Church: and hence the validity of ordination, as exercised in those reformed Churches where episcopacy was not retained, was admitted. By an Act passed in the 13th year of this reign the ordination of foreign reformed Churches was declared valid; and their ministers were capable of enjoying preferment, on receiving a license from the Bishop." It was not till 1662 that this rule was altered. See Lathbury's English Episcopacy, p. 63. He abstracts on the subject from Strype's Annals.

Compare Hooker's well-known statement on the subject. "There may be sometimes very just and sufficient reason to allow ordination made without a bishop. . . . We are not simply, and without exception, to urge a lineal descent of power from the apostles, by continual succession of bishops, in every effectual ordination."

sacred gift has been handed down to our present bishops ; who have appointed us (the Anglican Clergy) as their assistants, and in some sense representatives." The importance of the prerogatives hence derived to the ministers of the Anglican Church is perpetually dwelt on in the Tracts :—the prerogatives of binding and loosing, (by absolution or otherwise,) of administering the sacraments, and of preaching : specially that of administering the sacraments ; " which sacraments, and not preaching, (says the Tractator,) are the sources of the Divine grace." ¹—The prerogative so imparted is set forth further as *exclusively* that of the episcopally ordained ministers of our Church, in this country. " None are really ordained who have not been *thus* ordained." ² It is to those alone " who have received their ministerial commission from the bishop that the promise belongs that whatever he shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven. A person not so commissioned may use the words of baptism, and sprinkle, or bathe with the water ; but there is no promise from Christ that he shall admit souls to the kingdom of heaven. He may break bread, and pour out wine, and pretend to give the Lord's supper ; but there is no warrant from Christ to lead communicants to suppose that, while he does so here on earth, they will be partakers in the Saviour's heavenly body and blood." ³ The ministers of the Anglican Episcopal Church " alone in this realm have a right to be quite sure they have the Lord's body to give to his people." ⁴

In the case of one class of claimants thus strongly asserting to itself such high prerogatives, to the absolute exclusion of all others, (for " presbyterian ministers, in ordaining, assume a power," says the Tractator, ⁵ " which was never intrusted to them,") and this on the ground of the apostolical descent distinctively of our ordaining bishops, common sense requires that men carefully look into the title, and see whether it is clear, and to be relied on. Even in case of conflicting claims to an earthly estate, or to a patent of nobility, the courts of law feel it their duty strictly to scrutinize

¹ Preface to Tracts.

² Tract, No. i. 3. So too Perceval, " Apostolic Succession," pp. 61—63.

³ No. xxxv. 3.

⁴ No. iv. 5.

⁵ No. vii. 2. Also No. i. And Perceval p. 54.

the proffered title. How much more should men do this, when their very salvation is said to be involved in the issue ?¹—I am of course aware of the boldness with which clerical writers of the school you belong to affirm the demonstrability of their title. Says the Oxford Tractator ;—“ As to the fact of the apostolical succession, i. e. that our present bishops are the heirs and representatives of the Apostles, by successive transmission of the prerogative of being so, this is too notorious to require proof. Every link in the chain is known from St. Peter to our present metropolitan.”² And so Dr. Hook,³ and others of the same school.—But why then, Rev. Sir, do not some of your brethren give us the links of the chain ? At least, why do they not state from authority the essentials to the validity of each link ; and discuss, and answer, the difficulties consequent, in the way of any such apostolical succession theory ? In point of fact however the question, though not overlooked by the advocates of the theory, and professedly treated of both in certain of the Oxford Tracts themselves,⁴ and more at large by Mr. Perceval, in his direct Treatise on the Apostolical succession,⁵ has been by no means, in my opinion, discussed with the requisite care or accuracy. I purpose myself therefore now to take up the subject. Mr. Perceval, not unfairly perhaps, throws the onus of proving a flaw in the evidence on objectors.⁶ I accept his challenge. And I think the result will be to show that, *on your own principles*, the title to priestly authority, which you and your brethren of the Tractarian school claim, will be found to break down ; and non-conductors of various kinds to occur in your supposed apostolic line of descent, such as to stop the transmission of the ethereal fluid, or at least to destroy all assurance of its safe transmission.

II. My SECOND main head being thus the more than doubt as

¹ Oxf. Tr. ii. 3, xi. 3, &c. ; also Perceval p. 85. ² vii. 2. Also v. 9, xxix. 10.

³ “ There is not a bishop, priest, or deacon among us, who cannot, if he please, trace his own spiritual descent from St. Peter or St. Paul.” So Dr. Hook, in one of his sermons on the Church. ⁴ These will be referred to as we proceed.

⁵ The Book is entitled, “ An Apology for the Doctrine of Apostolical Succession.” My Edition is the 2nd, 1841.

⁶ Pp. 79, 80. “ If it be a moral impossibility that any man who had not been duly consecrated could be accounted a bishop of the Church of England at the present time, then the *onus* rests upon the objectors to say how that, which is morally impossible now, could have been morally possible at any other period ? ”

to validity attaching, on your own principles, to your ministerial orders, I proceed to argue this out on but *three* grounds, though more might have been added :—the *chorepiscopal* flaw ; the flaw from the *Romish doctrine of intention* ; and the flaw arising out of the *Anglican schism from the Church of Rome*.

1. *The chorepiscopal flaw.*

Introductorily to my argument on this point, let me premise (it is a premise in which you, Sir, I know, will quite agree with me) that, as the episcopacy was from early times regarded as a higher and different order of office in the Church from the presbyterate, more especially from its distinctive power of ordaining,¹ a different rite and form of ordination was accordingly from very early times appointed for the one and for the other.² Specially, in order to mark the peculiar solemnity of consecration to the episcopal office, the participation of at least two or three bishops was required in each such consecration ;³ whereas a single bishop's act sufficed for the ordaining to the presbyterate. For the second and third centuries the rule is handed down as thus express in what were called the apostolical canons ; “ Let a bishop be ordained by two or three bishops.”⁴ And after the great Constantinian revolution, A. D. 325, it was more fully express in the words following by the 1st General Council of Christendom, at Nice ; “ It behoves that a bishop be ordained by all the bishops of the province, if possible : or, if this be difficult, that at least *three* bishops come together on the occasion, with letters signifying the consent of the rest.”⁵ Rules these recognized as binding in the Tracts :⁶ and which, as Mr. Perceval observes,⁷ “ were re-

¹ “ *Bishops : that is, commissioned ordainers.*” Oxford Tracts, vii. 2.

² So Perceval, p. 54.

³ Bingham, ii. 11. 8, thus describes the manner and form of ordaining a bishop, as given in the records of one of the Councils of Carthage. “ When a bishop is ordained, two bishops shall hold the book of the gospels over his head : and, while one pronounces the blessing, or consecration prayer, all the rest of the bishops present shall lay their hands upon his head.”

⁴ Given in Harduin's Councils, vol. i. p. 10.

⁵ “ *Episcopum oportet ab omnibus episcopis, si fieri potest, qui sunt in provincia ejus ordinari. Si vero hoc difficile fuerit, . . . certè tres episcopi debent in unum esse congregati,*” &c.

⁶ v. 9 ; lvii. 5, &c.

⁷ P. 81.

peated in the provincial regulations of every Church ; the British, Gallican, Spanish, Roman, Carthaginian, Alexandrian, Antiochian, and the rest.”—With regard to the allowance in the so-called apostolical canons (just before cited) of episcopal ordinations performed by only *two* bishops, it is stated by Bingham¹ that this was contrary to all the other canons ; the presence and participation of *three* (agreeably with the Nicene rule) being required on the occasion. And he adds how the Council of Riez deposed Armentarius, and declared his consecration to the bishoprick to be null and void, because he had but two bishops to take part in it : ² and in a similar case the Council of Orange deposed both the ordaining bishops and the ordained. Mr. P. truly remarks, that “ when, by any pressing necessity, it fell that a bishop was consecrated by less than three bishops, the discussions to which such an event gave rise sufficiently show how keenly alive the Church has in all ages been to this point.” ³—As to ordination to the episcopate by *one* bishop alone, the only two instances that Bingham seems to have known of are those of Siderius, consecrated bishop of Palæbisca during the Athanasian troubles, and Evagrius, consecrated by Paulinus singly to be his successor in the bishoprick of Antioch.⁴ In the latter case a schism arose in consequence ; which was only terminated by Flavian’s appointment to the bishoprick, in place of Evagrius : there being then however, by special act of the Church, and with a view to the peace of the Antiochian Church, a recognition of the validity of the ordinations previously made by Evagrius.⁵ Whence Bingham’s conclusion, “ that the ordination of a bishop made by a single bishop was valid, (though contrary to the canons,) *if the Church thought fit to allow it.*”

In order the more strongly to impress on yourself, and on other readers of this letter, the all-binding force, on *Tractarian princi-*

¹ ii. 11. 4.

² “ Ordinationem, quam canones irritam definiunt, nos quoque vacuendam esse censuimus : in quâ, prætermisâ trium præsentîâ, nec expetitis comprovincialium literis, metropolitani quoque voluntate neglectâ, prorsus nihil quod episcopum faceret ostensum est.” ³ P. 81.

⁴ Bingham, ii. 11. 5.

⁵ “ Ecclesia Antiochena ita pacem postulavit, et meruit, ut Evagrianos suis ordinibus ac locis, intemeratâ ordinatione quam acceperant à memorato, [sc. Evagrio] susceperet.” Innocent. Ep. 14 ad Bonifac.

ples, of the Nicene rule about episcopal ordinations lately cited, let me remind you of the view taken by the Oxford Tractators of the sanctity, and plenary authority, of legitimately convened General Councils, such as was pre-eminently that at Nice. In Tract 90 a comment is made on the 21st Article of the Church of England, which speaks of the authority of Church Councils. Says that Article; "When General Councils be gathered together, forasmuch as they be an assembly of men whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and word of God, they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining to God." On the other hand this is the declaration of the Tractator:—that when General Councils are gathered together, not only "according to the commandment and will of princes, but *in the name of Christ*," our Lord's promise of his presence applies to them: and that "their deliberations are overruled from heaven; their infallibility guaranteed; their decrees authoritative."¹ How else indeed could the visible Church be Christ's representative on earth; and his Spirit speak by it?²

Bearing this in mind we infer that, *on Tractarian principles*, it was even as by the infallible and authoritative voice of Christ himself that the Council General of Nice required, in order to the right ordination of a bishop in the Christian Church, (that is of an official whose distinctive and peculiar power, as compared with that of other presbyters, was to be that of conferring orders,)³ the presence of at least three bishops of the province, and the written consent of the rest. Whence the conclusion further, that whenever this was not the case, it was the mind of Christ that ordinations to the episcopal office should be considered invalid; and consequently all the episcopal acts invalid that might be done by a pseudo-bishop so ordained. Bingham, we saw, though not taking this high ground about General Councils, like that of Nice, yet concludes that, except by a special act of the Church in their favor, the invalidity of bishops so elected must be admitted.

Now then apply these considerations to the multitudinous *chor-episcopal* ordinations, which we know to have intermingled in the

¹ xc. 21.

² See the citations in the Note ¹ p. 488.

³ See Note ¹ p. 479.

stream of ministerial succession with regular episcopal ordinations, for some six or seven hundred years; from at least the beginning of the 4th century to the 10th century, or the 11th.

The *chorepiscopus* was the title of an official instituted in the Church, as it extended itself from each central city or town into the surrounding rural districts, with functions somewhat like those of our modern archdeacons: his business being to represent, and so to relieve the city bishop, in those various diocesan offices which might not seem strictly and essentially episcopal. The earliest historic notice of these officials occurs, I believe, in the records of the Councils of Ancyra and Neo-Cæsarea, cities of the adjoining provinces of Galatia and Pontus; and which were held, shortly after Constantine's celebrated edict of toleration, in the same year A. D. 314. Not very long after which we find them again noticed in the Council of Antioch in Syria, held in the year 341. And this is what we learn from the notices in these three Councils respecting them:—that they were ordained to their office by the laying on of the hands simply and singly of the city bishop:¹—that, in respect of dignity of station, they were considered to stand in the same relationship to bishops as the seventy disciples in Christ's time to the apostles:²—that they had power to appoint of themselves to minor ecclesiastical offices, but not to ordain presbyters or deacons; at least not to ordain them διχα τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ, without the concurrence of the bishop, exprest in writing.³

¹ So the Council of Antioch in its 10th canon; χωρεπισκοπον δε γινεσθαι ὑπο τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἢ ὑποκειται ἐπισκοπου. A passage thus rendered in the Latin version of Isidore Mercator; "Chorepiscopus autem ab episcopo civitatis, vel loci, cui idem subjacet, ordinandus est." And to the same effect is the version of Dionysius Exiguus. Harduin, i. 598.

In a preceding clause of the canon, which will be cited presently, the chorepiscopi are spoken of as ordained by the bishop's laying on of hands.

² So the 14th canon of the Council of Neo-Cæsarea, a canon often afterwards referred to on the chorepiscopal question; Οἱ δὲ χωρεπισκοποι εἰσι μὲν εἰς τυπον τῶν ἐβδόμηκοντα. Hard. i. 286.

³ The 13th canon of the Council of Ancyra is thus exprest in the original Greek: Χωρεπισκοποις μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτεροὺς ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν· ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ πρεσβυτεροὺς πόλεως, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτραπῆναι ὑπο τοῦ ἐπισκοποῦ μετα γραμμάτων, ἐν ἑτέρᾳ (qu. ἑκάστη) παροικίᾳ. Of which Isidore's Latin version, supplying what is considered a lacuna in the Greek, is as follows:—"Vicariis episcoporum, quos Græci chorepiscopos vocant, non licere vel presbyteros vel

To which let me add that in the Arabic canons of the Council of Nice, (canons not genuine, but which may be considered probably of the date of the 5th or 6th century, and therefore as expressing the notions then current,) it is laid down that the archdeacon was to take precedence of the chorepiscopus ; the place of the former, in high church ceremonials, being at the *right* hand of the bishop, that of the latter at his *left*.¹

Such are the earliest notices of the rank, mode of ordination, and functions of the *chorepiscopus* ; and such, agreeably with what is laid down in those canons, was his inferiority to the *bishop* ;—the *real* bishop, legitimately consecrated, accordantly with the canons of the great Nicene General Council. And what then the practical working of this chorepiscopal system ? It may be well to trace this downwards briefly in Church history, in order the better to judge of its bearing on the question between us.

First then, in 381, soon after his entering on his episcopate, we find a letter address by the famous Basil of Cæsarea to the many *chorepiscopi* of his diocese.² In this letter he complains that, whereas in other times the chorepiscopi only ordained presbyters

diaconos ordinare : sed nec presbyteris civitatis, sine episcopi præcepto, amplius aliquid imperare, vel sine auctoritate literarum ejus in unâquaque parochiâ aliquid agere." Hard. i. 276. As stopped in Harduin the canon absolutely forbids, it will be seen, the ordination of presbyters and deacons by chorepiscopi.

The 10th canon of the Council of Antioch however either enlarges their power, or gives a larger meaning to the Ancyran canon. Τοις καλουμένοις χωρεπισκοποις, ει και χειροθεσιαν ειεν επισκοπων ειληφοτες, εδοξε τη αγια συνοδω ειδεναι τα εαυτων μετρα, . . . καθιστάν δε αναγνωστας, και υποδιακονους, και εξορκιστας, . . . μη δε πρεσβυτερον μητε διακονον χειροτονειν τολμᾶν διχα του εν τη πολει επισκοπου. So, with the city bishop's concurrence, such ordination would be allowable according to this Council.

¹ Canon 57 : "Locus episcopi in oratione sit in summo sacelli, intrâ locum altaris, ut qui sit pastor et gubernator. Post eum sit *archidiaconus* ad latus dextrum, ut qui sit loco ejus, et præsit omnibus quæ ad orationem et ecclesiam pertinent : *chorepiscopus* autem sit post archidiaconum ad alterum latus, quia ipse etiam est loco episcopi super villas, &c."

In canon 60, where it is laid down that the candidates for holy orders are to be examined by the archidiaconus and the chorepiscopus, the former is named first, as before.

² According to Nazienzen, says Bingham, ix. 8, there were not less than *fifty* chorepiscopi in Basil's or Theodoret's diocese.

and deacons after advising with the bishop of the diocese, the habit had subsequently grown up with them of ordaining without even writing to the bishop ; whence the result of so few of the Cappadocian clergy being men fit for their office. With a view to remedy the evil in a measure he rules that such as were incapable should be considered non-ordained, and mere laics : thus, somewhat arbitrarily, cancelling the ministerial orders of some chorepiscopally ordained clerics ; but admitting them in the case of others. And, for the future, he lays it down that the orders of all persons ordained by chorepiscopi should be considered invalid, unless ordained with his episcopal sanction ; the persons so ordained to be counted mere laics as before.¹

Pass we now two centuries forward, and from Eastern Christendom to Western, from Asia Minor to Spain. In the 7th canon of the 2nd Council of Seville, held A. D. 619, we find a rebuke ministered to the Bishop of Cordova for having often appointed *chorepiscopi*, ("who were in fact, according to the canons, nothing more than *presbyters*,") as his delegates for erecting altars, and consecrating chapels. The Council ascribes this to his ignorance on ecclesiastical matters : and states in its canon how, by the authority of the old law, or by the rules of the Church, sundry sacred prerogatives were reserved distinctively and alone to bishops ; such as the consecration of churches, the *ordination of presbyters and deacons*," &c.²

The chorepiscopal order however still continued ; and continued to exercise, in Western Christendom at least, episcopal functions. Towards the close of the 8th century we find them noticed in the 2nd Council of Nice, (an Eastern Council) as officials still common ;

¹ Not having a copy of Basil's works to refer to, I take Dupin's report, Tom. ii. p. 162, (Paris Editio. 1693.) I cite two clauses. " Il ordonne . . . que l'on mettra au rang des laïques ceux (des ministres) qui se trouveront incapables." " Enfin il declare que ceux qui seront mis au rang des ministres, sans qu'il les ait approuvés, seront que de simples laïques."

² " Relatum est nobis Agapium, Cordubensis urbis episcopum, frequenter chorepiscopos vel presbyteros destinasse, (qui tamen juxta canones unum sunt,) qui, absente pontifice, altaria erigerent, basilicas consecrarent. . . . Nam quamvis cum episcopis plurima presbyteris mysteriorum communis sit dispensatio, quædam tamen auctoritate veteris legis, quædam novellis et ecclesiasticis regulis, sibi prohibita noverint ; sicut presbyterorum et diaconorum consecratio," &c. Hard. iii. 560.

but apparently as restricted in respect of ordaining functions then, and in that part of Christendom, to the ordination of the lower ecclesiastical orders, such as readers.¹—On the other hand in Western Christendom the “chorepiscopal superstition,” we read, had about the same time become so prominent a matter in the minds of men, that it was judged well by the emperor Charlemagne, conjointly with the bishops of France, to consult the then reigning Pope, Leo 3, about it ; and to have his answer inserted in the Capitularies of Charlemagne. It had been a subject of discussion, we there read, among laity as well as clergy : the clergy declaring that chorepiscopally ordained presbyters were not really ordained ; the laity that they feared receiving injury, instead of blessing, when confirmed by men who were merely in pretence ordained clerics. To which appeal the Papal answering rescript was one altogether condemnatory of the chorepiscopi. It declared that they were only presbyters, not bishops, as not having been duly consecrated by three bishops, nor ordained to any particular episcopal see ; that the clergy who had been chorepiscopally ordained were to be considered unordained ; and that henceforth the chorepiscopal order was to cease.²

The decree was however ineffective. In A. D. 829 the 6th Council of Paris speaks of the abuse as still continued : and how chorepiscopi illegally pretended to confer the Holy Spirit by imposition of hands : albeit that they were not real bishops, and so successors of the apostles ; but only, as the Neo-Cæsarean Council

¹ ὡσαύτως καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος τοὺς χωρεπισκόπους, κατ’ ἐπιτροπὴν τοῦ ἐπισκοποῦν, δεῖ προχειρίζεσθαι ἀναγνώστας· i. e. to appoint them (as the context shows) by imposition of hands. Hard. iv. 496.

² Pope Leo’s answer thus begins :—“ Omnibus sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ fidelibus notum esse volumus, quia non parva questio de *chorepiscorum superstitione* ad nos non semel, aut bis, aut ter venerit, sed sæpissimè nostris auribus molestiam intulerit. Ipsa questio non solum inter clericos, sed etiam inter laicos sæpissimè ventilabatur. Dicebant presbyteri, diaconi, et subdiaconi, à regularibus episcopis ordinati, non eos esse presbyteros, vel diaconos, vel subdiaconos, qui à chorepiscopis videbantur quasi sacrati, &c.” The decree lays down that they were not bishops, “ quia nec ad quandam civitatis episcopalem sedem titulati erant, nec canonicè à tribus episcopis ordinati. Ideo de episcopali ministerio nihil agere potuerunt, &c.” And then ; “ Ut hi qui à chorepiscopis presbyteri, vel diaconi, vel subdiaconi sunt ordinati nulla tenus in presbyteratûs, diaconatûs, vel subdiaconatûs officio ministrare præsumant.” Hard. iv. 948.

had defined them, an order after the fashion of the seventy.¹ Nor was this here and there only, but very generally. We read in this 9th century of chorepiscopi alike in the dioceses of Lyons, Langres, Limoges, Tongres, Mayence, &c.; that is, over both France and Germany.² Among the canons of Isaac, Bishop of Langres about this time, (canons compiled, he tells us, from those of the highest ecclesiastical authority,) it is declared, conformably with Pope Leo's decree, that chorepiscopal ordinations of presbyters or deacons were invalid, chorepiscopi being nothing but presbyters.³—On the other hand defenders of the order were not wanting. The famous Rabanus, Archbishop of Mayence, in a letter to a chorepiscopus of his diocese, in the same 9th century, declared them to be really bishops, and that they might rightfully exercise the episcopal function of ordaining.⁴ And so too Pope Nicolas, (Pope from 858 to 867,) when consulted on the subject by the archbishop of Bourges.⁵ But the council of Metz, held in 888, adhered to Pope Leo's doctrine; declaring chorepiscopi to be but presbyters; and that every act done by them, which belonged properly to the office of the summum sacerdotium, or episcopate, was ipso facto void.⁶

With this I end my historic notice of the chorepiscopi; just adding only that, according to Mabillon, the order continued downwards even until the 11th century.⁷

¹ 27th canon. Hard. iv. 1314. For the Neo-Cæsarean canon see Note ² p. 482.

² Ibid. in the signatures to the Councils held severally in those places.

³ "Si quis non ab episcopo, sed à chorepiscopo, qui non est episcopus, sed vicarius episcopi, priusquam prohibiti essent, fuerit confirmatus, reiterari aliis benedictionibus debet. . . . Chorepiscopi nec Spiritum Paracletum ullo unquam tempore tradere potuerunt, nec modo possunt.—Placuit ut, sicut Leonis Papæ, et omnium episcoporum nostrorum, atque reliquorum fidelium generali et synodali consultu decrevimus, nullus chorepiscopus per manûs impositionem aut sacerdotis aut Levitas . . . sacrare præsumat." Hard. v. 449.

⁴ Hard. v. 1417.

⁵ Given by Martene De Rit. ii. 12. "A chorepiscopis asseris multas esse in regionibus vestris ordinationes presbyterorum et diaconorum effectas: quos quidam episcoporum deponunt, quidam vero denuo consecrant. Nos vero dicimus nec innocentes oportere percelli, nec ullas debere fieri ordinationes vel iteratas consecrationes. Ad formam enim *septuaginta* chorepiscopi facti sunt; quos quis dubitet episcoporum habuisse officia."

⁶ Hard. vi. i. 412.

⁷ Martene *ibid.*—There occurs a somewhat curious notice of the chorepiscopal class, or order, as late as the middle of the 16th century. In a Romish Synod of the Diocese of Angsburch, under Cardinal Otho, in 1548, i. e. two years after the

And now then, let me ask, what is the inference to be drawn from this, with regard to the question at issue between us? Our inferences must of course vary according as we admit, or reject, the claims of the chorepiscopi to be really officials vested with authority in the church to ordain presbyters, and impart to them those prerogatives of binding and loosing, &c., of which you speak so much. In each and either case however, if I mistake not, the result will tell almost equally against the dogmas of Tractarianism.

If your judgment, like that of one early Tractator,¹ be that the chorepiscopus was really and truly made a bishop, (a bishop in the full sense of the term, and with the bishop's distinctive prerogative of ordaining ministers)² by the consecrating act, simply and singly, of *one* regular bishop, what comes of the heaven-inspired infallibility, and absolute authority, that you ascribe to the rules of a General Council like that of Nice; seeing that they required the presence of at least *three* bishops to make a consecration to the episcopate valid?³ And what, by consequence, of your favourite dogma about the *visible* Church, as that in which Christ dwells, and through which (as a collective body)

death of Luther, and first assembling of the Council of Trent, I find this in its 7th statute. "Quos Græci chorepiscopos, (hoc est certarum regiuncularum in quâlibet diocæsi speculatores,) alii archidiaconos, alii archipresbyteros vocant, in nostrâ ecclesiâ cathedrali, quoad certum districtum mœniis Augustanæ civitatis adjacentem *archidiaconi*, in reliquâ vero diocæ sâ *decanorum ruralium* nomine censeantur." That is, that they were to be called *archdeacons* when acting in the immediate suburbs of Augsburg; but elsewhere *rural deans*. Hard. ix. 2034.

¹ Tr. xxxiii. "Finding the burden too heavy for him (as his flock increased) the bishop would appoint other pastors, to supply his place in this or that part of his diocese. To these he would commit a greater or lesser share of his spiritual power, as might be necessary. Sometimes he would make them fully his representatives, or *ordain them bishops*: at other times he would employ presbyters for his purpose. These assistants, or (as they were called) *chorepiscopi*, would naturally be confined to their respective districts." The writer then speaks of the chorepiscopi as "*suffragan bishops*, in the modern sense of the word."

² See Note ¹ p. 479.

³ See p. 479 *suprà*.—Accordingly in No. LVII. of the Tracts, Novatian, A. D. 252, is said to have lighted on *three bishops* in Italy, "the *requisite* number for consecration."

Such only as heartily hold the doctrines of our Articles 21, 23, about General Councils, and ministerial ordinations, (on which the Tractarian difference of opinion has been noted at pp. 476, 481,) can consistently admit this view of chorepiscopi.

Christ speaks ?¹—On the other hand if a chorepiscopus be voted by you, in common with so many of the other doctors of the Church, to be *not* a real bishop, and yet his ordinations of presbyters and deacons to be valid, what have you to say against the validity of ordinations made (we will suppose) by the laying on of hands of an archdeacon, or rural dean, or simple presbyter ?² You will surely have made a large step, notwithstanding the Tractarian abhorrence of it,³ towards acknowledging the validity of presbyterian ordination.—Once again, if you say that, as the chorepiscopi were not real bishops, so neither was the ordination of presbyters made by them valid, then think of the thousands and thousands of chorepiscopally ordained presbyters in eastern and western Christendom,⁴ during the six or seven continuous centuries from 300 to 900 or 1000, who are thereby affirmed by you to have been nothing more than laics ; and of the more than probability, humanly speaking, of *many* out of their number having been at one time or other made bishops ! In which case, forasmuch as bishops might not be made directly from laics, or, *per saltum*, from any lower ecclesiastical order than presbyters,⁵ these

¹ See Tract No. ii, on “the Catholic Church ;” with the heading text from Isaiah liv. 17, “No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper.” It says that the only true meaning of that article in the creed, *I believe in one Catholic apostolic Church*, refers to “the Church visible, with its bishops, priests, and deacons :” and that, when Christ ascended, “he did not leave us orphans, but appointed representatives of himself (i. e. in them) to the end of time.” Also Tract No. xi. 6 ; “In 1 Cor. xii. we are taught the Spirit’s indwelling in the visible Church, or body : I say not in every member of it, but generally in it,” &c.

² To each of which the chorepiscopi, we have seen, were assimilated by many learned Church bishops and doctors during the time of their continuance. See pp. 483, 484, 487, *suprà*.

³ “It is from the order of presbyters, on whom was never conferred at ordination the power to ordain, that the presbyterians of Germany, Denmark, France, Scotland, England, Ireland, and North America derive their pretended orders.” Perceval, p. 54.

⁴ On the large number of ordaining chorepiscopi see Note ² p. 483.

⁵ So, for example the Sardican Council in its 10th Canon in Greek, 13th in Latin : and so the 8th General Council ; laying it down, more in detail, (Act. X. Can. 5.) that a man must hold for a year the office of reader, for two years that of sub-deacon, for three that of deacon, for four that of presbyter, before being eligible for the episcopate. Hard. i. 645, v. 901.—In earlier times these intervals were not attended to. Still even the example of Ambrose shows how it was understood that a bishop could not rightfully be made but from such as had been presbyters previously : Ambrose having, in the week following his baptism, past

must have been mere make-believe bishops, as they were previously mere make-believe presbyters : and so have intervened, not only personally, but by the invalidity of all subsequent episcopal consecrations at which their presence made up the three ordaining bishops, to break the continuity of the line of apostolical succession ; and act like non-conductors, to stop all further transmission in that particular line of the ethereal fluid.

I observe a curious inconsistency in Mr. Perceval. He has with commendable diligence both refuted the Romish calumny that our Archbishop Parker, at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, had the validity of his consecration imperilled by the (asserted) fact of its having been performed by a single bishop. Moreover, in Tables carefully and elaborately drawn out, he has traced the pedigree of our subsequent English bishops down to the present era ; and shown how duly three bishops, at the least, assisted at each one of the consecrations. But then, strangely forgetful of the solemn and binding nature of the Apostolic and Nicene Church canons, he has argued as if the admitted validity of the pedigree of any one of the three consecrating bishops, in any particular case, would be sufficient to establish the validity of the consecration ; and so to ensure the validity of our own orders, at the present day. Certainly not so on Tractarian principles. Our orders hang on the validity of Archbishop Parker's consecration : Archbishop Parker's on the validity of that of three at least of his episcopal consecrators. If but one of the three was a mere make-believe bishop, from any flaw, anywhere, in his episcopal descent, traced upward through all the continental intermixtures,¹ then ought Tractarians to consider Archbishop Parker's consecration invalid : and so, still on Tractarian principles, your own orders, Reverend Sir, to be invalid also.

Nor is this chorepiscopal ground the only ground on which

through all the inferior ecclesiastical orders, and then on the 8th day been consecrated bishop. So Paulinus, in his Life of Ambrose : "*Baptizatus fertur omnia ecclesiastica officia implesse ; atque, octavâ die, episcopus ordinatus est.*" See on this Martene De Rit. ii. 8.

¹ At p. 239, Mr. P. well notes the continual intermixture of the English episcopal succession with that of continental Bishops.

suspicion, grave suspicion, attaches to your priestly orders. I proceed to notice,

2ndly, the flaw attaching to them from the *Romish doctrine of intention*.

Justly, but somewhat curiously, one of the Tractarian leaders, in a Paper on the Romanistic controversy,¹ has adverted to this doctrine as a ground of uncertainty to the Romanist on the palmary point of his Church possessing the apostolic succession; and consequently, it is added, as a reason with the Anglo-Catholic for not joining the Romish Church. "The Church of Rome has determined that a sacrament does not confer grace unless the priest means it to do so; so that if he is an unbeliever, nay, if from malice or other cause he withholds his intention, it is not a means of salvation. Now, considering what the Romanists themselves will admit, the great practical corruption of the Church at various times, . . . who can answer, on the Church of Rome's own ground, that there is still preserved to it the *Apostolical succession*, as conveyed in its sacrament of orders." So argues, and justly argues, the Oxford Tractator; strangely unconscious, it would seem, all the while, that the flaw, while doubtless *on Roman Catholic principles* affecting a Roman Catholic's certainty as to the apostolic succession remaining with *his* Church, ought also, *on Anglo-Catholic or Tractarian principles*, similarly to throw doubt on the fact of the *Anglican* Church possessing the apostolical succession. For it is through the Romish Church, in the times prior to the Reformation, that the Anglo-Catholic Church traces up the certainty of its episcopal succession to Apostolic origin. And, if prior to the Reformation, the Romish Church had thus, and on this ground, its apostolic succession broken, or at least the gravest doubt thrown upon its continuance, how can the Anglo-Catholic maintain with consistency that the succession has certainly come down to him?

Let me briefly notice what is to be found of the earlier history

¹ No. LXXI. p. 10.

of this doctrine. And then, I would hope, the correctness of my argument on this point will approve itself even to your own mind.

Let it be understood then that it was not at the Council of Trent, after the Reformation, that this doctrine was for the first time broached by the Church of Rome. Above a century before, in the famous General Council of Constance, held 1415 A. D., a rule was laid down which implies the then admitted reception of the doctrine. After reference to a certain Wicliffite dogma about the need of good character in the priest to make the sacraments effectual, (a dogma condemned by the Council as heretical), it was ruled that every suspect Wicliffite should thenceforth have the following, among other testing questions, put to him on his examination :—"Whether he believes that a bad priest, when using the proper matter, and proper form of words, and *having moreover the intention of doing what the Church does in the sacraments*, does, or does not, truly make the sacrament of the mass, truly absolve, truly baptize, and truly perform and minister the other sacraments."¹ Such, and such only, in the Council's mind, (the priest's intention being, however, markedly among them,) were requisites to the real ministration of the sacraments; that of *orders*, of course, inclusive. He who admitted the validity of the rite, whatever the priest's moral character, provided only that *he had the intention of ministering the sacramental grace*, was to be acquitted of the charge of heresy; not otherwise.—Next we find the subject mooted in the Council of *Florence*, held A. D. 1438. This Council was assembled on occasion of the Greeks and Armenians temporarily uniting with the Romish Church. It seems there had been some difference between the Greek and Armenian Churches, on the one hand, and the Church of Rome on the other, with reference (among other minor points) to the necessary *matter* of the host to be consecrated; whether, or not, it must necessarily be *wheaten* bread. And Pope Eugenius went so far, to meet those Eastern Churches, as to lay down in the Council of Florence that the bread

¹ "Utrum credat quòd malus sacerdos cum debità materià, et formâ, et cum intentione faciendi quod facit ecclesia, verè conficiat, verè absolvat, verè baptizet, et verè conferet alia sacramenta." Harduin, viii. 915.

need not necessarily be wheaten : adding, however, that there *must* be certain other things, to make the sacrament valid ; viz. the proper *form of words* in consecration, and moreover *the intention of the priest to consecrate and transubstantiate*.¹

It was *after this* that the Council of Trent (A. D. 1546), in its 9th Session, during the first period of its assembling,² laid down the law ; “ If any person shall say that in ministers when they make, or when they impart sacraments, there is not required *the intention of doing that which the Church does*, let that man be accursed : ” ³ a dogma referred to, and repeated, during the second period of its sittings (A. D. 1552) in its 14th Session.⁴—And it did this, observe, professedly as a rule already before laid down by the Council of Florence. So Paolo Sarpi tells us, in his History of the Council of Trent. It seems that Catharinus, Bishop of Minori, near Naples, made a strong protest during the Council’s previous discussions, against the enactments of the Canon : urging the utter uncertainty that would result from it as to the reception or non-reception of sacramental grace, on the part of participants in the sacrament. And this not with reference merely to the sacraments of baptism, of confession and absolution, and of the mass, but to that too of *ministerial orders*. For, said he, supposing the candidate for ordination to have been baptized by a priest *who had not a thought of doing the thing seriously*, and so of imparting the sacramental grace, then that man will not have been baptized. And, consequently, even

¹ “ Dummodo enim panis substantia maneat nulla tenus dubitandum est quin, post præfata verba consecrationis corporis, à sacerdote *cum intentione conficiendi* prolata, mox in verum Christi corpus transubstantietur.” Ib. ix. 1028.

In Leo Xth’s damnable bull against Luther in 1520, I may here add, the same doctrine is express ; see Hard. ix. 1893 ; as one fully known and established at that time in the Church.

² The Council, as is well known, had three several periods of sitting :—the 1st from Dec. 1545 to Sept. 1547 ; the 2nd from May 1551 to April 1552 ; the 3rd from Jan. 1562 to Dec. 1563.

³ “ Si quis dixerit in ministris, dum sacramenta conficiunt et conferunt, non requiri *intentionem saltem faciendi quod facit ecclesia*, anathema sit.” Hard. x. 53.

⁴ “ Ad instar actûs judicialis sententia (sc. absolvendi) pronuntiatur. Atque ideo non debet pœnitens adeo sibi de suâ ipsius fide blandiri, ut, etiamsi . . . sacerdoti animus serio agendi et verè absolvendi desit, putet tamen se propter suam solam fidem verè et coram Deo esse absolutum.” Hard. x. 94.

though the ordaining bishop may, when putting his hands on him, really intend to ordain him, yet the fact of his non-baptism will vitiate his ordination; for the bishop cannot ordain an unbaptized man. And then, moreover, supposing this apparently ordained, but not really ordained man, to be in course of time made a bishop, he will yet by virtue of his non-baptism and non-ordination be no bishop; and consequently all his subsequent acts as bishop be invalid. Hence, as we trace down the results in the progress of time, it is obvious that every minister and bishop deriving from him will be unordained, and unconsecrated; and that so the lines of priests that are no priests, and bishops that are no bishops, will multiply perpetually from generation to generation, even until the end of the world." So, Padre Paolo tells us, argued Catharinus, Bishop of Minori, in the Council; and how the other prelates were troubled, and acknowledged that it was a perplexing affair. But still the *Council of Florence* had pronounced for the dogma; and consequently they must affirm it.¹ For Rome changes not.²—So, I say, Padre Paolo. Nor does Pallavicino, in his counter History of the Council, deny the main facts of the discussion as narrated by Paolo Sarpi; or the duty of construing the words of the canon literally.³ Accordingly the canon remains in full force, in the plain sense of the words, as a canon of the Romish Church. The attempts that have been made by some of the Romish doctors to evade it have been, I believe,

¹ History of Council of Trent, p. 226. (Engl. Edit. London 1676.)

² No doubt, in order to the proper recognition of the priesthood as in the place of God in the confessional, and at the altar, the requirement of his intention to make the absolving or consecrating act valid seemed essential.

³ Pallavicino's apology for the doctrine, in answer to Catharinus and Paolo Sarpi amounts to little more than this:—that, besides the necessity of the priest's intention there are other things also equally essential to the validity of the sacrament, such as the *proper matter*, and *proper form of words*; the possible unknown omission of which must also equally cause uncertainty as to the right administration of the sacraments. A defence which only makes the case of Rome worse.

He then argues that we must trust to God's Providence, either so to overrule the priest's mind as that the evil may not arise; or that "by a peculiar indulgence He will remedy all secret invalidating flaws in the various sacramental ministrations, so that the Church may as little as possible be defrauded of those antidotes for sinful man prepared through the shedding of the blood of God." Part ii. p. 12. (Ed. Angsburgh 1755.)

Such is *Rome's best certainty* for a poor sin-burdened conscience!!

abandoned :¹ and all attempts consequently at vindicating the continuance of the apostolic succession to themselves are, the Oxford Tractator truly states, vain ; indeed nothing less than a palpable absurdity.²

But, reverting to the present question between us, what I now wish to urge on yourself, Rev. Sir, and my other readers, is this ;—that, as it was a rule not first laid down by the Council of Trent after the Reformation, but by other Church Councils and authorities before it, the canon affects the validity of *Anglican* succession, on your Anglo-Catholic principles ; just as it invalidates the title to apostolic succession, on Romish principles in the case of the Church of Rome. For it is through Rome, as I before said, that you trace up your succession. And surely the Roman succession, from the time when you begin to trace your apostolic title through it, must, on your own principles, be taken subject to all the difficulties and flaws which the Church laws then in force might from time to time have attached to it.

But let me turn now to that other flaw in your title which I proposed also to consider ; viz.

3rdly, the flaw which arises out of the *Anglican schism from the Church of Rome*.

Very strongly do the Tractarians speak of the sin of *schism*. “What shall be thought,” say they,³ “of any attempts to weaken that community, or that ministry ?” [viz. the visible Church, and its episcopally ordained clergy,] which have the sacraments in their hands. “But every one who makes, or encourages a schism, *must* weaken it. Thus it is plain that schism must be wrong in itself, even if Scripture did not in express terms forbid it, as it does. . .

¹ In Zaccaria’s Edition of Pallavicino’s book, published at Faenza in the years 1792—1796, it is stated in a note to his report about the discussions in the Tridentine Council on this doctrine of intention that Alexander the 8th, in a Brief of the 7th of December 1690, condemned all evasion of the Canon of Trent respecting it : and that thereupon the Theologians of Louvaine, who had previously advocated Catharinus’ views about it, made a retractation of that opinion.

² Let me observe that I have borrowed in the above from a Lecture given by me in May 1852 at the Hanover Square Rooms, on the subject of “the Romish Doctrine of Intention,” and published by the Reformation Society.

I have there illustrated by various examples the fact of Romish priests having often avowedly withheld the intention.

³ Tr. xi. 3.

St. Paul says, 'There is one body, and one spirit ; one Lord, one faith, one baptism.' Thus, as far as the Apostle's words go, it is as false and unchristian (I do not mean in degree of guilt, but in its intrinsic sinfulness) to make more bodies than one, as to have many lords, many Gods." The Tractator's application is, as might be expected, to dissenters from the English episcopal Church. "I wish to know how it is possible for any one to fall into their sin, if dissenters are clear of it? What is the sin, if separation from the existing Church be not it?"¹ In Tract xli. 5, it is argued further, that "in this age of schism," new articles of faith are needed, "to meet the new heresy which denies the Holy Catholic Church." And, in another Tract,² Bishop Wilson's form of excommunication is approvingly given, as one fitly to be applied, by those who have the power of binding and loosing, to those who sin openly and determinately "in *creed* or in *practice*:" and consequently to all that dissent from the Church; since both their *creed* errs on the vital point (as Tractarians regard it) of apostolic succession and Church authority; (not to specify other points;) and their practice errs correspondingly also. The effect of this excommunication is stated to be a delivering them over to Satan; and exclusion not from one particular section of the Christian Church, but from "the one holy Apostolic Church:" and so, by necessary consequence, their loss of whatever authority, or privilege, they may have enjoyed in it;³ that of ministerial orders, and ministerial prerogatives, (if such they once had) included.

Such is the Tractarian doctrine about the sin of *schism*: a doctrine founded itself on Apostolic injunctions in the New Testament: but, on the right application of which, serious differences must of course arise, according to the different views taken of what "the one holy Apostolic Church of Christ" really is. Passing this over however for the present, what I have now more immediately to urge on you is the notorious fact that the Roman Catholic Church charges this very sin of schism against the reformed Anglican Church, its bishops, and its clergy: and has accordingly launched its severest excommunications against it, and them; and

¹ So too Tr. xxx. 7.² Tr. xxxvii.³ See Tr. xxx. 7.

declared the Anglican ministerial orders (your own inclusive) to be by consequence null and void. Here then comes up the grave question ; How can the Tractarian, on his own principles, fairly claim exception from these pains and penalties of schism, in his character of a separatist from the Church of Rome ?

The justificatory plea of the fathers and founders of the Protestant reformed Church of England is well known. Not only did they protest against one and another particular corruption and error in the Romish Church : but, judging her by the test of God's written word, (its one test of truth,) declared her to be the Church of Antichrist, not of Christ ; and consequently that separation from her was an act of duty imperatively called for by their very faithfulness to the Lord Jesus. " Come out of her, my people," said the voice from heaven, " that ye be not partakers of her plagues." ¹ Thus judging, what mattered it to them if Rome launched her anathemas and excommunicatory bulls against them as schismatics and heretics ? These were anathemas, they knew, that heaven would never ratify. As to the ministerial orders of the English Church, as reformed and re-constituted by them, they did not rest the validity and apostolicity of those orders on the asserted fact of the unbroken apostolic succession of the Anglican bishops, in the Tractarian sense of the phrase. Their Church's foundation was rested by them on the rock of conformity in its doctrine, government, and discipline to the written word of God. That *Church* they declared to be an integral part of the true visible catholic Church of Christ (contradistinctively to the apostate Church of Rome) in which the pure word of God was

¹ I have in the Appendix to the 3rd Vol. of my *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, pp. 547—557, given extracts from the writings of the reforming fathers of our Church, illustrative of this : the fathers cited from being Tyndale, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, Philpot, Bradford, Jewel, Becon, Sandys, Fulke, Whitgift, Hooker ; and the writers of the Homilies, of the authorized English version of the Bible, and the Articles of the Irish Church.

" On this principle," writes Bishop Warburton, (*viz.* that the *Man of Sin*, or *Antichrist*, could be no other than *the man that filled the Papal chair*) " was the Reformation begun and carried on : on this the great separation from the Church of Rome conceived and perfected. For though persecution for opinion would acquit those of *schism*, whom the Church of Rome had driven from her communion, yet on the principle that she is *Antichrist's* they had not only a right, but lay under a command, to come out of her." Sermon xxviii. on Antichrist.

preached, and the sacraments ministered, according to Christ's ordinance:¹ and, as regards the human authorization that was needed for the rightful exercise of the office of the *ministry*, that "they were to be judged lawfully called to it who were chosen and called to the work by men that have public authority given them in the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard."² Which having been the case with those consecrated and ordained in the English Church, subsequently to its great schism and separation from the apostate Church of Rome, "we decree all such," it was said in the 36th Article, "to have been rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered."—Such, I say, is the doctrine, and such the justification of their separation from Rome, set forth by the fathers and founders of the English Protestant reformed Church.

But what was to be the Tractators' plea?—When the Tractarian movement began, with all its talk and argument about the *apostolic succession*, as a doctrine of essential importance to the Christian Churchman, it became very soon a matter of obvious necessity with its leaders to show what was the justificatory plea, *on their principles*, against Rome's charge of schism against them: and what their escape from the pains and penalties consequent on obstinate schism from the Catholic Church; the forfeiture of their ministerial orders, and apostolic succession, inclusive.—And at first, not having as yet thoroughly apprehended their position, they adopted that which we saw to have been one grand defensive argument of our English reforming fathers against the charge; viz. *that the Pope was Antichrist*. But how could they consistently maintain this, without admitting also the continuous antichristianism, and apostacy for ages, of the visible professing Catholic Church: (the Anglican branch of it inclusive:) that Church with which it was affirmed, as one of the essential dogmas of Anglo-Catholicism, that Christ dwelt by his Spirit, and through which they derived their orders? Somewhat feebly it was intimated, as if to provide against any such application of this their plea against themselves, that Rome's apostacy began only with the Council of

¹ Art. xix.² Art. xxiii, already before cited.

Trent.¹ But (not to speak of the acts of the civil power in the matter) did the English episcopal convocation, which in 1534 A. D. renounced the Roman Pope's supremacy, follow after the Council of Trent? Was not that Council's first assembling some ten years later, in 1545? This representation of things was soon seen to be both false and inconsistent. Moreover the sympathy of the Tractarians with much that they saw in both the doctrines and services of the Romish Church became more and more developed.² Ere five years had past, our Church's view of the Pope being Antichrist was professedly and absolutely abandoned by them: and the common Romish view of Antichrist, as an apostate power *yet to come*, substituted for it in four sermons expressly devoted to the object.³ In which view you, Reverend Sir, have declared your full concurrence.⁴

But what then (that first plea having been abandoned) was now the Tractators' justificatory plea against the charge of the sin of

¹ So Tr. xv. p. 10. "True, Rome is heretical now: nay, grant that she has thereby forfeited her orders: yet at least she was not heretical in the primitive ages. If she has apostatized, it was at the time of the Council of Trent. Then indeed, it is to be feared, the whole Roman communion bound itself by a perpetual bond and covenant to the cause of Antichrist."

A note is subjoined from Wordsworth's Life of Bernard Gilpin. "Mr. Gilpin would often say that the Churches of the Protestants were not able to give any firm and solid reason of their separation besides this, to wit, that the *Pope is Antichrist*. . . . The Church of Rome kept the rule of faith entire, until that rule was changed and altered by the Council of Trent. And from that time it seemed to him a matter of necessity to come out of the Church of Rome; that so that Church which is true, and called out from thence, might follow the word of God."

Most marvellous is the statement in the Tractator's text, and Mr. Gilpin's cited remark, about the Council of Trent; alike as regards the time of Rome's apostacy, and as regards the justification furnished by it to the Reformation. For 1st the Reformation in England, as well as in Germany, took place notoriously before the Council of Trent's publication of its decrees; and yet more before Pope Pius' Creed, enjoining the profession of them on every Romish priest. 2ly, the doctrine of the Council of Trent was but the doctrine of previous Church Councils, only more carefully worded; which had been before imperatively enjoined on priests and people, as the Creed of Western Christendom.

² We may mark in Tract LXXI a partial defence of some of the Tridentine decrees; in Tract LXXV an unfavourable comparison of our Church Liturgy with the Roman Breviary; in Tract XLV a representation of the discarding of Church authority at the Reformation, and making Scripture the sole ground of faith, as a thing to be lamented.

³ Tr. LXXXIII. So too Tr. xc. p. 66.

⁴ "That the Pope is the Antichrist, the Man of Sin, to be revealed in the last days, I altogether deny." Gresley's Remonstrance, p. 5.

schism, and its consequent penalties? They held out, as still remaining to them, the plea grounded on a decree of the Council of Ephesus in 431 A.D. : the effect of which, they argued, was to constitute the Romish Pope a usurper in the control that he had through the middle ages exercised over the English Church ; and so to furnish, accordantly with canon law, a justification of the English Church's separation from him in the 16th century.—It seems that, at the beginning of the 5th century, the Patriarch of Antioch had attempted to bring the Churches in Cyprus under his dominion ; and, as a sign of his authority, claimed to consecrate their bishops. On which the Council of Ephesus, having been appealed to, thus decreed : “ Whereas it is against ancient usage that the Bishop of Antioch should ordain in Cyprus, as has been proved to us in the Council both in words and writing, we therefore decree that the prelates of the Cyprian Church shall be suffered, without let or hindrance, to consecrate bishops by themselves : moreover that in other dioceses and provinces everywhere the same rule be observed : so that no bishop shall interfere in another province which has not from the first been under himself and his predecessors : and, further, that if any one has so encroached and tyrannized he must relinquish his claim.” Thus, and by this decree, the Cyprian bishops and churches were made independent of the Patriarch of Antioch. And so similarly, it was for a while contended by the Tractators, the English Church was in the 16th century authorized by the Ephesian Canon to emancipate itself from the usurped authority of the Church of Rome.¹

Marvellous indeed was this application of the precedent. In the case of the Cyprian Churches the Patriarch of Antioch had only just before for the first time claimed, and made attempt, to interfere in the consecration of the bishops in Cyprus, as if an island subordinate to his Patriarchate. But the claim was from the first resisted by those bishops ; who had, in fact, up to that time been independent of him. And when appeal was made to the Ephesian Council, the Council did *on this ground* decide the

¹ So Tr. xv. 7. Also Perceval p. 112.

question in their favour.—But was the Anglican Church, which declared itself independent of Rome in the 16th century, one which continuously up to that time had preserved its independence; and was then for the first time threatened with aggression by the great Roman Patriarch of the West? Instead of this, the Anglican Church had notoriously at this epoch been for above 900 years in subordination to Rome: the Archbishops of Canterbury, its primates, receiving thence their pallium of consecration continuously from the time of Gregory the 1st, A. D. 600, with the oath of allegiance to the Pope as the accompaniment to their consecration;¹ while the other bishops of the English hierarchy derived from the Archbishop of Canterbury as metropolitan, and so ultimately from the Roman Pope.—The Tractators talked much indeed at first of the independence of Rome maintained by the old *British* or *Welsh* bishops of the 7th and 8th centuries;² as if it had been from them, and not from Rome, that the Anglican Church and clergy had derived their orders, until some short time before the Reformation: a condition this necessary to their making out a case for themselves of parallelism with that of the churches and bishops of Cyprus. But historic fact was too palpably against such representations to be persisted in. It was notorious that the British or Welsh bishops had been confined to Cornwall and Wales, after the Anglo-Saxon conquest of the island, and when Gregory the 1st sent his missionaries to the then re-paganized country of Ethelbert's kingdom in South Eastern England: also that, after a century's resistance, these

¹ Let me on this point beg to refer to my *Horæ Apocalyptice*, Vol. iii. pp. 185, 186: also p. 190, where I have given a copy of a sketch of Augustine, first Archbishop of Canterbury, with his lambskin pallium received from Pope Gregory, taken from a missal of the 9th century.

² So Tr. xv. 6; "The Pope had no right to take on him the control of the Churches in Britain, because we were altogether independent of him: the English and Irish Churches, though in the West, being exterior to his Patriarchate." Again, p. 7: "The British Churches were not included in any Patriarchate." So also Tr. xxx. 5, 6. The Tractator seems to have forgotten the difference between the remnant of the old *British* Church, and the *Anglican* or *Anglo-Saxon* Church founded by Pope Gregory I.; from which, and not from the old British Church, the English Church, thenceforward established in this island, had its origin.

bishops submitted, with all the rest of our island, to the Roman Pope's spiritual supremacy of Rome.¹ Subsequently to which time the whole English Church continued to maintain the closest union with Rome, as its daughter and subject, even until the Reformation. The Cyprian case was evidently altogether inapplicable.

Nor indeed, with those ever increasingly favourable feelings towards Papal Rome, of which I before spoke as characterizing the progress of the Tractarian movement, was it likely that Rome's long previous connexion with the English Church would continue to be held out as an unprincipled usurpation. "Rome is your mother," wrote Dr. Pusey, "through whom you were born to Christ."²—Again; "Rome has imperishable claims on our gratitude; and, were it so ordered, on our deference." "We trust that active and visible union with the see of Rome is not the essence of a Church. At the same time we are deeply conscious that in lacking it, far from asserting a right, we forego a great privilege."³ Moreover, instead of any longer justifying the Reformation, the language respecting it used by the more eminent of the Tractarian leaders came at length, as you well know, Rev. Sir, to be that of dislike, if not reprobation. "Cæco quodam reformationis (quam vocant) æstu in ecclesiâ passim fervente." So wrote Dr. Newman, while still the chief leader of the Tractarians: and Mr. Froude, more undisguisedly, "I hate the Reformers, and the Reformation, more and more."⁴ All this was nothing less than

¹ So Hume, History of England, chap. i. "These controversies (viz. about the form of the tonsure, and time of keeping Easter) excited such animosity between the British and Romish priests, that, instead of concurring in their endeavours to convert the idolatrous Saxons, they refused all communion together; and each regarded his opponent as no better than a Pagan. The dispute lasted more than a century; and was at last finished by the entire prevalence of the Romish ritual over the Scotch and British."

² Tr. LXXVII, 2nd Ed.—So, more recently, the Christian Remembrancer No. LXXXII. p. 399; a No. on which I shall have to speak more in my next Paper. "What is the claim of the English Communion, but that she is identical with that which sate formerly on the seven hills? Our succession does not come either from St. Augustin the apostle of England; or, as some have thought, from British or Scotch succession. The old episcopate of St. Augustin died out... So that our line centres in Pope Vitalian, from whom Theodore (who then came to England) deduced his orders?"

³ See more in my H. A. vol. iii. pp. 484—489.

⁴ See *ibid.*

an admission that the separation of the English Church from Rome, at the Reformation, was an act of schism both lamentable and unjustifiable. And at length there was made a direct confession of its sinfully schismatic character; by characterizing it as "that deplorable schism."¹

In one of the later Oxford Tracts, No. lxxi, drawn up professedly on the defensive against Rome,² other reasons were rendered, which in the then advanced state of the movement were indeed most necessary, why the Tractarian body should not accede to her invitations, and join the Roman Catholic Church. The argument from God's written word alone, which had been held forth in our reformed Church's 20th Article, as the one standard of what was right, was distinctly disclaimed in this Tract.³ It was admitted moreover that a strong *primâ facie* case for union with Rome might be made out; much that is admirable shown to attach to the Roman Church, besides the important fact of the Roman bishop's universal "primacy in honour and authority;" and great defects shown to attach to the Anglican Church. Yet Rome's denial of the cup to the laity, her invocation of saints, not indeed as explained in the Tridentine *decrees*, but as practically carried out, (was this altogether fair as against Rome?) her requirement of the priest's intention to make the sacraments valid,⁴ her absolute injunction of confession once a year,⁵ and her unwarranted anathemas,—these constituted, it was argued, objections so grave to the Church of Rome, as to make it a duty with Anglicans still to stay where they were, in their English mother Church, *unless* she were proved "to be involved in some damnable heresy, or *not to be in possession of the sacraments.*" But then did the writer hereupon take up the last question hypothetically so suggested; and prove the Anglican Church (against Rome's denial of the fact, which was candidly stated by the writer) to be really in possession of the sacraments; or, in other words, to be in pos-

¹ British Critic for July 1841, p. 2.

² Originally printed in 1836.

³ p. 8.—Compare what was noted at p. 497 about the Article XIX of our Church.

⁴ See on this p. 490 *suprà*.

⁵ What will you, Rev. Sir, with all the value you attach to confession to a priest, say to this as a fit ground of separation from Rome?

session of true ministerial orders? Strange to say, there is not one single word of proof or argument by him, in his Church's defence on this head. Judgment then on the charge mooted must surely be confest to go by default against him: and the Anglican Church, as one obstinately schismatic and excommunicated, to have forfeited her orders. A judgment this, the justice of which has been admitted by all the more eminent clerical members of the Tractarian body, Messrs. Newman, Manning, Oakley, &c., who have seceded to Rome; and who, after this their secession, have either submitted to re-ordination in the Roman Church, in order to a legitimate endowment with priestly orders; or, in default of such re-ordination, have confest themselves to be simple laics.

And here, Reverend Sir, I bring my letter to a conclusion. I think you will not deny that I have fairly taken up Mr. Perceval's challenge. Instead of the fact being so as the Tractarians have represented it, that "every bishop, priest, and deacon among us, can, if he please, trace his own spiritual descent from St. Peter or St. Paul," I have shown, that, on your own principles, the thing is an impossibility: nay, and that such flaws attach to your title, (flaws very various in their character, but all valid on Tractarian principles, and affecting the title at every different stage of the supposed succession, alike since the Reformation and before the Reformation,) that by evidence cumulative the point may be considered proved, that the probability is against your possessing true ministerial orders at all. No doubt you may fall back upon the assurances on this head of the clerical brethren of your own particular body, such as Mr. J. M. Neale: who, with somewhat of naiveté, thus maintains the strength of your title against doubts, denials, and proof against it, urged from whatever quarter: "I presume, my Reverend brethren, *we are each and all of us absolutely persuaded* that we have the apostolical succession among us; that we have the grace of the priesthood, the power of abso-

lution, the power of consecration.”¹ But mere absolute and unsupported self-persuasion, like this, is that which the unepiscopally ordained ministers of the Presbyterian or Baptist Churches may of course urge, on behalf of the validity of their ministerial orders, just as well as yourselves.

When I reflect on all this, and consider that the arguments that have been drawn out by me are for the most part sufficiently obvious to any well educated and intelligent enquirer, I must confess that the course of action ministerially pursued by clergymen of the Tractarian body intelligent, as well as devoted and benevolent, like yourself, (I speak not of the many very weak-minded though well-intending clerics of your body,) appears to me to be not a little extraordinary. With great earnestness, and I am persuaded with real kindness of intention, you seek to impress upon the people’s minds your possession of the apostolic succession, and of the high priestly prerogatives, thereto (you say) belonging. And, in virtue of those prerogatives, you charge them solemnly, as they value their salvation, to seek at your hands, who have the power of the keys, absolution of sin; and, from your hands to receive the consecrated sacramental elements, in order thereby to be made partakers of the propitiatory sacrifice for sin, offered afresh, it is said, each time of celebration by the priest.² Surely then, since all hangs on your legitimate possession of priestly orders, and your right possession of them is known to be a fact contested, it must seem your duty, on the ground of common sense, to probe the truth of these objections to the bottom; and, if unable to sustain your title against them, then, as honest men, candidly and fully to state the result to your people.

“Christian Brethren,” you seem bound to say, “if indeed you are to be called Christians, in the present uncertainty as to the

¹ Lectures on Church Difficulties, p. 47. (Published 1852.)

² See Tr. LXXXI. 298; also Wilberforce on the Eucharist, pp. 7, 364; a book written by him before his public perversion to Rome, and while one of the chief Tractarian leaders.—“The holy Eucharist is a true and proper sacrifice for quick and dead.” So Mr. Neale, p. 39. And so, I am assured, the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper is set forth also at St. Paul’s, West Street; the Church of your own ministrations.

reality of our sacraments, we are in a great strait. With zeal and earnestness, while ministering among you, we have endeavoured to build you up in the faith of Christ's Holy Catholic Church ; an article of the Creed so overlooked, or misapprehended, by many : setting it forth as that earthly Church visible, under episcopal rule, throughout the world, which is the body of the ever-present Divine Incarnate One ; and through which, when duly represented in General Councils, his infallible Spirit speaks among men. Subordinately to which article of faith, but in strict connection with it, we have prest upon your minds the awfully sacred power committed to us, as priests of the Church, by the Bishops who ordained us ;¹ themselves the successors of the apostles, and personal representatives of Christ. For this was nothing less, we taught, than the prerogative of the holding of the keys of the kingdom of heaven ; whether for admission of candidates, or for their rejection.—Nor have these our ministrations been without apparent success. Large have been in many cases our congregations ; and deep the humility and earnestness of mind with which its members have in great part submitted themselves to our guidance. No doubt in many cases there may have been a mixture of motive in their union with us. The beauties of church music, or church architecture and decoration, which we study so much better than others, may have had their charm for some. And many more (especially of the softer sex) may have felt satisfaction, however wrongly, just like the Israelites of old, in leaning on a human arm rather than the divine ; and looking to an earthly priest, rather than directly to the heavenly High Priest, as him to whom confession of sins might be confided, and from whom absolution of sin received. Yet with most of you, it becomes us to believe, the main motive was anxiety for forgiveness and salvation. And the earnestness with which we taught our doctrine of apostolic succession, and of the priestly power of the keys, was taken as a sufficient guarantee by you that at our hands, in the confessional, and at the sacramental altar, you might rightly look for the one and for the other.—But herein both we and you have

¹ See Tr. xxxv. 3.

been in error, (ourselves far the most,) in not thoroughly sifting our credentials, to see whether the priestly power that we claimed belonged really and in truth to us, or not. On a closer and more rigid scrutiny we have to confess, Brethren, that we cannot make out our title; and thus, in fact, that (however unintentionally) we have been all through deluding ourselves and you.—Most plainly has the Holy Catholic Church, by the voice of Christ's Spirit in its General Councils, laid down the law that in order to the right ordination of a bishop of his Church three bishops at least, each of them duly consecrated before-hand to the office, must unite in the act; moreover, that, in order to his due consecration, each of these must in time previous have been rightly ordained to the presbyterate. Yet, in tracing our ministerial title upward, we find that we have to trace it through such a flood of illegitimate ordinations to the presbyterate,—ordinations by archdeacons rather than bishops, which extend in numbers to tens of thousands, and in range of time through six centuries, alike in Eastern Christendom, and yet more in Western,—that we are forced to a conviction of the high probability that many of the bishops of those times were illegitimately made bishops; through whom nevertheless the title of the bishops who ordained us has to travel, in passing to an apostolic source.—Again we have to trace the title of our ordaining bishops through the Romish Church, for centuries previous to the so-called Reformation: so that if the succession in the Romish Church be broken, or questionable, ours must by necessary consequence be broken, or questionable, also. And, as regards this point, we have actually ourselves declared, in one of our Tracts, that Rome can have no assurance of the validity of its orders, by reason of the uncertainty of the priest's or bishop's intention in the ministration of the Church's sacraments. Yea, and not we alone; but even the Romish Church's own selected advocate, Cardinal Pallavicino: concluding, as he pretty much does, in his argument on this point, that we must trust for our security in the matter to God's uncovenanted mercies. So that, in truth, the validity of our orders depends on those same uncovenanted mercies of God which we have often pointed out,

perhaps with somewhat of Pharisaic pride in the contrast, as the miserable refuge of the ministers of Protestant dissenters from that episcopal Church to which we belong !—Yet once more, we have confest to the English Church's being involved in the guilt of unjustifiable schism, in its separation from Rome at the Reformation : and so, according to church law, (though we have tried to hide this from our own eyes and yours,) we must admit it to lie under all the pains and penalties of such schism ; exclusion from the Catholic Church, with its sacraments and its ministerial orders inclusive.

“Such proves to be our real position. Of the possession of true ministerial orders we find that we can have no assurance whatsoever. The absolutions we have pronounced have been consequently worthless ; the sacraments administered by us (even like those of dissenting ministers spoken of in our Tracts)¹ have been invalid ; and we ourselves involved perhaps in the guilt of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, which we have ascribed to them.² We have been deluded, and deluding, in our whole ministry. Brethren, we have to humble ourselves for the past before God and before man. For the future we have to look with prayer for direction from above : that we may see what is the fundamental mistake which has led us to so sad errors ; where lies the hope to man of salvation ; and where, and what, is the truth of God.”

Earnestly would I hope, as the result of the arguments which have thus been set before you, that you will reconsider the subject of Tractarianism ; and this as carefully, and with a mind as unprejudiced, as possible : for surely there must be some fundamental errors of principle in it, if it lead you to views of the christian system so untenable and indeed absurd. If so, then I think there are three main points on which you will soon see reason to change your views ; viz. as regards *Christ's Church of the promises*, the *rule of faith*, and the *Christian ministry*.—As to the *Church*, Christ's prophetic parable of the tares (zizania) and wheat will come before you in a new and most important point of view.

¹ See p. 477 *suprà*.

² Tr. xxxv. 3.

For the thought will suggest itself that, while nothing was there said by Christ implying that the wheat would always exceed the tares in number, what he said elsewhere of the broadness of the road of error, and fewness of those that would find the way of life, and moreover what St. Paul said of a great apostacy that would arise in the Christian Church, (men from out of the Church's own body teaching perverse things,) combined to indicate that, at some era subsequent to the apostolic, tares would be much more numerous in the professing Christian Church than wheat : in which case, by necessary consequence, the voice of the corporate catholic visible Church would be that of error, not of truth ; and Christ's promise of the gates of hell not prevailing against his Church prove to belong distinctively to the *witnessing Church of the true-hearted*, the Church of the sackcloth-robed witnesses, exiled it might be by church-rulers, and as it were in the wilderness.—Further, as to the *rule of faith*, alike the danger will appear, and the error, of making this to be not the written Scriptures alone, but Scripture as explained by tradition. For if the principles of error and apostacy were gradually to increase in the Christian Church after the time of the apostles, until they rose into the ascendant, then of course the visible Church's doctrine and tradition would, after apostolic times, become gradually more and more corrupt, and contrary to the rule of right and truth.—Finally, as regards the *Christian ministry*, its essential difference in character from the typical priesthood of the old Jewish law will stand forth in a strength of relief never sufficiently appreciated before : Jesus Christ being seen to have wholly and absolutely fulfilled the type of Jewish *sacrificing* priests, when he offered himself up on Mount Calvary, once for all, a full, perfect, and sufficient propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the world ; and still ever, and absolutely, fulfilling their type as *mediating* priests, in his ever continuing mediatorial and intercessional work, as he pleads his own atoning sacrifice for each sincere suppliant before the Father in heaven. There indeed, and not in any earthly Church, is the Christian antitype to the Holy of Holies in the Jewish temple ; there, and not in any Church confessional, the Christian court of

judicature. And the whole proper object and glory of the Christian ministry consists in directing thither, and to Him, the eyes of individual Christians, as the alpha and omega of salvation : thither and to Him, as the real centre of unity to the constituent members of his true Church, wherever scattered in its state earthly and militant; as well as to the members of the Church in its state in Paradise and triumphant. Now, when this is fully realized, it will be felt that a religious ministry which inculcates an *earthly* sacrificing and mediatorial priesthood, an earthly propitiatory sacrifice in the sacramental elements, an earthly universal centre of unity, or any other centre than the invisible centre of Christ himself,—that ministry is pro tanto an *antichristian*, not a *Christian*, ministry. For it substitutes earthly priests, an earthly church, earthly sacraments, in place of Christ himself : and consequently, whatever be the zeal, laboriousness, or moral excellence, of the teacher, it is a teaching of error instead of truth ; and must tend to the delusion, not salvation, of the unwary souls that *fully* receive the doctrine.

Reverend Sir, I pray you to forgive the freedom with which I have in this letter address you ; and remain,

Your faithful Servant,

E. B. ELLIOTT.

IV.

PRESENT STATE OF THE CONTROVERSIES ON
APOCALYPTIC INTERPRETATION.

IN the 4th and last Edition of my “*Horæ Apocalypticæ*” I have entered very fully into the subject of the chief counter-theories to my own on Apocalyptic interpretation ; more particularly in the Appendix to its 4th Volume. In that Appendix, after a continuous sketch of the History of Apocalyptic Interpretation from the earliest times of the Christian Church down to our own, (a sketch much fuller and more copious, I believe, than has yet been given by any other Expositor,) there will be found abstracts and critical examinations, successively, of what are commonly known as the PRÆTERIST and FUTURIST counter-theories.—1st. the PRÆTERIST theory is there considered ; whether as propounded by the Germans *Eichhorn*, *Ewald*, &c. the American professor *Moses Stuart*, and at one time by *Dr. Davidson* of our own country, in reference to the times of Nero, Vespasian, and the fall of Jerusalem ; or, as by *Bossuet*, with an extension of the chronological range of the prophecy to the fall of the old Roman empire in the 5th and 6th centuries. 2ly, the FUTURIST theory is discussed ; a theory which supposes the whole Apocalypse, except perhaps the introductory epistles, to be a sketch of events yet future, such as are expected to happen at the time of the Jews’ predicted restoration to Judæa, of a supposed future Antichrist’s manifestation, and our Lord’s immediately following second coming in glory : whether as advocated by *Mr. Burgh*, *Drs. S. R. Maitland* and *Todd*, the *Author of the Oxford Tract 83* on Antichrist ; or,

with certain modifications and peculiarities, by the *Rev. G. Barker* on the one hand, and on the other by the *Rev. Charles Maitland*, in his so called "Apostolic School of Prophetic Interpretation." Besides which, 3ly, there was added a sketch, and critical examination, of the late *DR. ARNOLD's* theory of Prophetic Interpretation; a theory fashioned in part after the views of Hengstenberg and Tholuck, and others of the more orthodox of German theologians. And as the critiques, in refutation of each and every one of these counter theories, have, so far as I know, never yet been answered, the only duty that seems to devolve on me on this head, in sending the present volume of Lectures into the world, with its re-assertion of the same views of Apocalyptic prophecy as in the "*Horæ*," is to notice whatever may have urged with any effect in contrariety to it, *subsequently to my last publication in 1851*; and to show that the argument, as between me and those other expositors, remains still against them as before. With this object I propose in the present Paper to notice briefly, 1st, a late popular exposition of the FUTURIST theory in the volume called "*Israel's Future*," by the *Rev. Capel Molyneux*; 2ly, the Apocalyptic exposition on the PRÆTERIST principle recently published by the *Rev. C. Desprez*; 3ly, the *Millenario-Præteristic* schemes set forth severally by Messrs. *Williams, Scott, and Hengstenberg*; as also (in one way or another) by the *Christian Remembrancer*: then, 4ly and finally, to notice certain later objections propounded against my own Apocalyptic Interpretation, more especially in a work published a little while since by the *Rev. Cator Chamberlain*. —It is to be understood that what I now write is *supplementary* to the arguments so fully given before in the "*Horæ*." So that no reader of this Paper may suppose himself fairly to enter into the subject it relates to, without also reading and considering the Papers on the same subject there given previously. And surely the question as to the real intent of the *Antichrist* of prophecy is so important, that no earnest seeker after divine truth can deem the trouble thus urged upon him too great to undertake in its investigation.

I. The FUTURIST *Apocalyptic Scheme*; as recently set forth in "*Israel's Future*," by the Rev. C. Molyneux.¹

The general scheme here propounded is as follows.

The period embraced by the Apocalyptic prophecy is the last hebdomad, or seven years, of Daniel's 70 hebdomads: the 69th ending with Messiah's being cut off, and the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; and the 70th, or last, taking up Israel's history from the time of its again coming prominently on the scene as a nation.² For it is a law with Scripture prophecy to speak only, or almost only, where Israel is concerned: and thus, with reference to the long period since Jerusalem's destruction, during which Israel has nationally been as it were in abeyance, prophecy is silent. Hence the marked interval of interruption between Daniel's 69th and 70th hebdomads.³—The 70th hebdomad opens with Israel's partial restoration as a people to the Holy Land, in a state still unconverted.⁴ The first half of the hebdomad ($=3\frac{1}{2}$ years) is occupied by them in rebuilding the old desolations, more especially Jerusalem itself and the temple:⁵ which temple, being built after Ezekiel's divinely directed plan, may fitly be called, as it is in fact called, alike in St. Paul's prophecy of the man of sin, and in the Apocalypse, God's temple.⁶ Meanwhile ANTICHRIST,—he that was predicted by Daniel as "*the prince to come*," with reference to the times of this 70th hebdomad,⁷ as well as in the several well known prophecies of the *little horn*, *man of sin*, and *seven-headed Apocalyptic beast*,—having previously brought the Gentile nations into subjection, by means very much of his magic and Satanic arts, comes into Palestine: and, deluding the Jews into the belief of his being Messiah, allies himself in covenant with them; just as is foreshown in Dan. ix. 27.⁸ At the end however of the first $3\frac{1}{2}$ years he breaks the covenant: the cause of this probably being

¹ "*Israel's Future*;" being "Lectures delivered in the Lock Chapel in Lent 1852, by the Rev. Capel Molyneux.

My Edition is the 1st. But I understand there has been no alteration of the least importance in any subsequent Edition.

² Pp. 49, 50, 98.

³ Pp. 96—98.

⁴ Pp. 51, 45, 122.

⁵ Pp. 50—54.

⁶ Pp. 75, 52.

⁷ P. 50.

⁸ Pp. 67, 75—77, 82, 117.

the Jews' revolt from him ; on discovery of his real character from his taking seat in the temple of God, and there, on pain of death, requiring worship to himself or his image.¹ Against this profanation,—this abomination, standing for the next $3\frac{1}{2}$ years in the holy place,²—Christ's two sackcloth-robed witnesses (Elijah one of them) protest for the same period of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, as foreshown in Apoc. xi. ; till killed by Antichrist in the great city, i. e. the city Jerusalem.³

Meanwhile, the Jews having revolted from him, Antichrist prepares to take vengeance on them by gathering the nations under his universal rule against Jerusalem :⁴ with the siege of which begins Israel's predicted great and unequalled tribulation ; the same that the Apocalypse prefigures as the first act of the war of Armageddon.⁵ The siege results in the capture and destruction of the city and sanctuary by Antichrist ; this being that destruction of them by "the prince to come," assigned to the close of the last hebdomad by Daniel :⁶ one third of the Jews however escaping, as Zechariah predicts ; the same that are figured as the sealed ones of Israel in Apoc. vii.⁷ On the repentance, and turning to Jesus as their Messiah, of this broken Jewish remnant, Jesus manifests himself for their deliverance. And at the brightness of his coming Antichrist is destroyed, and the saints of the present dispensation raised to glory ; and therewith the millennial blessedness of the world begins.⁸

Such is, I believe, a pretty correct sketch of Mr. M.'s view of the coming future ; as deduced both from other Scripture prophecy, and in considerable measure from the Apocalypse. But let the reader mark, at each step and stage of it, how completely it contradicts and refutes itself.

1. The temple rebuilt by the Jews he makes to be *God's temple*, as built in obedience to God's directions ; it being in fact the temple prefigured in Ezekiel. Yet it is declared to be built by the

¹ Pp. 52, 82, 83, 85, 128.

⁴ Pp. 42, 68, 115—120.

⁶ Pp. 50, 120, 125—132.

² Ibid.

⁵ Pp. 46, 47, 131—135.

⁷ P. 131.

³ Pp. 67, 102, 103.

⁸ P. 164, &c.

Jews in their unconverted state, and consequently for the temple services of Judaism; in direct antagonism to Jesus,¹ in whom alone God is well-pleased. Moreover, 2ndly, as to the temple, and city of Ezekiel, it is to be inhabited from the time of its building only by Jehovah Jesus, the true Messiah; "the name of the city from that day being, JEHOVAH *is there*:"² whereas in Mr. M.'s scheme, the Jewish city is for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years to be occupied by Antichrist; and the temple his throne, where he is to sit and receive worship as God. Besides which, 3rdly, Ezekiel's temple (as Mr. M. indeed himself expressly notices,³) is to stand for evermore; whereas, in applying to the restored temple of his scheme what is said in Dan. ix. 26, 27, of the Prince to come (Antichrist) destroying "the city and the sanctuary," he makes it soon come to desolation.—4thly, since in the midst of the last hebdomad, according to Mr. M., Antichrist's sitting in the temple as God is to begin, (the Jews thereupon breaking covenant with him,) and to continue through the latter $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of the last septenary,—since moreover it is in Jerusalem, apocalyptically designated as the great city which is called Sodom and Egypt, that just at the close of those $3\frac{1}{2}$ years he slays Christ's two sackcloth-robed witnesses,—it results, on double proof, that Antichrist must during that whole period be in possession of Jerusalem. Yet it is during these self-same $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, or at least a considerable portion of them, that

¹ At p. 73 Mr. M. inveighs with some little sarcasm and indignation against Protestant interpreters calling *St. Peter's*, in which the Pope sits, "St. Peter's where man is deluded and God dishonoured," God's temple. Is that then fit to be called God's temple, where Antichrist is to sit, according to him, deluding men and dishonouring God?

The right view is this. That which has been *originally constructed according to God's command*, so as was the old literal temple at Jerusalem, whether as built by Solomon, or rebuilt by Zerubbabel, and so as his figurative house, or temple, the Christian Church visible, (see 1 Tim. iii. 15) would still retain the name of *God's temple* even after its corruption, *until formally cast off by God*.—Apoc. xi. 2 well illustrates this with regard to the mystic temple, or Church visible, at the time of the Reformation: the house itself, and inner court which had the altar, (figures of the Protestant Churches, which recognized in their doctrine those symbols' evangelic realities) being measured as *really* and *properly* God's temple; the outer court (*figuring* the Papacy,) cast out as that which, though professedly a part of the temple, was yet by the rightly judging excluded as apostate. See my H. A. ad. loc.

² Ezek. xlviii. 35.

³ P. 201; citing Ezek. xxxvii. 19.

Mr. M. makes Jerusalem to be besieged, in Antichrist's wrath against the Jews for revolting, and all its great tribulation to be in progress.¹ So that Antichrist is both enthroned within the city, and besieging the city from without, at one and the same time, on this hypothesis.—Nor, 5ly, does it appear how Mr. M. can reconcile his idea of Antichrist's enthronement as God in the newly rebuilt Jewish temple, during all the $3\frac{1}{2}$ closing years of our dispensation, with the Apocalyptic prophecy's distinct definition (xi. 2) of the outer court of the temple as that which alone, during part at least of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, is to be given to the Gentiles; the inner temple and altar being that from which meanwhile they are excluded.—6ly, and finally, what right has he to assign a period of 7 years to Antichrist's reign and power, on the palpably questionable ground of what is said of the "prince to come" in Dan. ix. 26, 27, when in the two predictions of Dan. vii. 25 and Apoc. xiii. 5, which unquestionably have Antichrist for their subject, a period of $3\frac{1}{2}$ times only, = $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, (whether to be construed on the *day-day* or the *year-day* principle,) is assigned to his reign and power?

It would be easy to add other particulars of self-contradiction from the Book.² But what has been already stated will more than suffice. And I deem it a duty to set this before the reader, not merely on account of the popularity of these Lectures, both when delivered and after publication, (a popularity naturally increased from regard to Mr. M.'s personal piety and eloquence,) but yet more because the same or very similar self-contradictions attach to most, if not all, of the Futurist schemes, so far as my knowledge of them extends: e.g. those drawn out by *Mr. Charles Maitland*,³ by the Author of "*Plain Tracts on Prophetic Subjects*,"

¹ Mr. M. (p. 131) makes the seven Apocalyptic trumpets to symbolize Israel's great tribulation; and the 6th Trumpet includes, be it observed, the two witnesses' death resurrection and ascension, at the end of their $3\frac{1}{2}$ years' of witnessing.

² That of making the *New Jerusalem* of the Apocalypse to symbolize the body of the redeemed saints of the *Gentile* dispensation, (see Mr. M.'s p. 163) and yet insisting that all the *Jewish* symbols of the Apocalypse should be expounded of the *literal Israel*, (an inconsistency common to almost all the Futurists,) is one never to be overlooked by a prophetic inquirer.

³ *Mr. C. M.* similarly makes Daniel's last hebdomad to be excised from the others, and to constitute the last 7 years before the consummation: the temple

and others. Indeed it is from Mr. C. Maitland that Mr. Molyneux has specially borrowed; unaware that his book was a broken reed, which would only pierce the hand that leant upon it. Mr.

to be rebuilt by the Jews while yet in unbelief, during the former $3\frac{1}{2}$ years (p. 100): and the latter $3\frac{1}{2}$ years to be the times of the reign of Antichrist, during which he sits for worship in the temple; and which (after his slaying the two witnesses) end with Christ's coming.

The great tribulation (that same from which the 144,000 of the tribes of Israel are sealed, preparatory to the Trumpets, in Apoc. vii) he also makes to be that which coincides with the siege and capture of Jerusalem by all nations under Antichrist's headship (p. 406); immediately after which follows Christ's coming.

So again the Author of "*the Plain Tracts*;"—Mr. Macintosh, I believe; a member of the so-called community of "Brethren," once "Plymouth Brethren."

By him the same views are propounded as by Mr. C. M., and Mr. Molyneux, as to Daniel's 70th *hebdōmad*; the Jews' then rebuilding of the temple, whilst in unbelief; Antichrist's covenant with *the mass* of them during the first $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of the seven; then his breaking of the covenant, putting an end to the Jewish sacrifices, ("sacrifices of wickedness," as they are called,) and setting up his image (= the abomination of desolation) for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years in the temple. (See his pp. 292, 293, 300, 309, 315, 431.)—Also, in reference to *the Jews' great tribulation*, (which he notices as spoken of alike in Dan. xii, Matt. xxiv, and Apoc. vii,) that this begins with Antichrist's breaking with them, on placing his abomination in the temple; that it includes the siege of Jerusalem prophesied of in Zech. xiv; and is ended by Christ's lightning-like appearing, to deliver them from Antichrist. (See his pp. 56, 193—195.)

So does the scheme in his hand involve, as a part of its essence, just the same self-destroying contradictions, from the dates of *time* and *place*, as in the hands of Mr. C. Maitland or Mr. Molyneux.—One peculiarity in his book, in reference to the time of the two sackcloth-robed witnesses witnessing, will be remarked on in a subsequent Note.

It may be well here to add that, like Mr. Molyneux, this writer strongly asserts the principle that a prayerful Scripture student "entirely unacquainted with the details of profane history," or "the vicissitudes of political and ecclesiastical affairs during the last 18 centuries," may, "equally with the most learned," study and understand prophetic Scripture, in so far as they concern "Christ's glory in his relations to the Church, to Israel, or to the world." (pp. 343, 344.) But how little consistent he is with himself on this point will appear from the explanation that he gives very shortly afterwards (p. 348) of the Epistles to the seven Churches in Apoc. ii, iii; as "exhibiting *the successive states of the entire professing Christian body* on earth till the time of its utter excision from Christ:" adding, at p. 350; "Let any Christian, *familiar with the outline of what has occurred in the progress of the present dispensation*, glance at the contents of these Chapters, and see if there be not such a correspondence with Apoc. ii, iii, as needs no argument to prove it a designed representation." How can this be done without knowledge of both the ecclesiastical and political history of Christendom since the time of St. John?—Elsewhere (p. 297) he speaks of the prophecy in Dan. xi. 1—30 of the king of the North, and king of the South, kingdoms with which Israel's fortunes were closely connected, as "so exactly fulfilled" in the history of the Greek kingdoms of Syria and Egypt "that infidels allege it must have been written since the events." And so again, pp. 204, 427, 276, 292, he speaks of Christ's prophecy concerning Jerusalem's desolation in Luke xxi. being already

M. has candidly confest to myself that the scheme needs reconstruction, in order to be tenable.¹ But reconstruction, such as may make the futurist Apocalyptic scheme tenable is, I am well persuaded, impossible. The hypotheses, 1st, of Antichrist sitting for the last $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of his dispensation in the reconstructed temple of Jerusalem, and in that city slaying Christ's two witnesses,² near about the close of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, and consequently just before Christ's coming; 2ndly, of that temple being one rebuilt by the Jews on their partial return while yet in unbelief to Palestine; and, 3ly, of their great tribulation (the same that is figured in the seven trumpets, and from which the 144,000 of Israel are alone sealed and saved in Apoc. vii.) being that which arises from the siege and capture of the city by all nations under Antichrist,

fulfilled in Jerusalem's siege and destruction by Titus; of Daniel's four great empires being clearly Babylon, Persia, Greece, Rome; of the Apocalyptic Beast's six first heads figuring Rome's six successive different forms of government, down to the imperial, inclusive; and of the prophetic period of Daniel's first 69 hebdomads answering to the time from some Persian decree for Jerusalem's restoration to the coming of Messiah. In all which cases how but from *profane history* could any of the fulfilments be made out?

¹ There is nothing new let me say, in his views. *Mr. Burgh* (who is the father of English and Irish Futurists,) long ago offered precisely similar speculations, alike about Daniel's last hebdomad, about the Jews' immediately previous rebuilding of their temple while in unbelief; about Antichrist's covenant with them for the hebdomad, and then in the middle of it breaking the covenant; (the consequent siege and capture of Jerusalem, causing the Jews' great tribulation;) also Antichrist's subsequent sitting for worship in the Jewish temple for the last $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. So in his "Second Advent," p. 152, and Apocalyptic Commentary, pp. 171, 209, &c.—To the question, "How can Antichrist sit, and be worshipped all that time in the Jewish temple, when during the same $3\frac{1}{2}$ years (or much of that period) St. John's measuring of the temple, and altar, and them that worship therein, Apoc. xi. 2, expressly distinguishes the worshippers there from the Gentiles that tread down Jerusalem," *Mr. B.* replies, (p. 208) "This measuring means God's care for his true servants of the sealed Israelites." But care for them, surely, only as worshipping in the temple, and at the altar. Which being so Antichrist must, according to *Mr. B.*, be sitting and worshipped by the multitude in the temple, at the selfsame time that God is worshipped there by the true Israel!

² *Mr. Macintosh* (if I rightly so name the Author of the Plain Prophetic Tracts) has this peculiarity in his book, that he makes the two sackcloth-robed witnesses' $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of witnessing to precede, instead of being identical with, Antichrist's $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of supremacy in Jerusalem; the one being the first half, the other the second half, of Daniel's last hebdomad. But unfortunately Apoc. xi. 2 expressly defines the two witnesses' $3\frac{1}{2}$ years as the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of the Gentiles treading down the holy city. The same conclusion results from Apoc. xii. 14, 17, as compared together, and with Apoc. xiii. 5.

an event to be also followed immediately by Christ's coming,—these three hypotheses, I say, seem essential to each and all of the Futurist Schemes.—The excision, 4ly, of Daniel's last hebdomad from the rest, and making it light upon the yet future epoch of Israel's expected return to Palestine, and constitute with its two $3\frac{1}{2}$ years the closing hebdomad of the present dispensation, immediately prior to Christ's second coming, though not an essential, is yet a most important auxiliary to the scheme. For, were that prophecy really so meant, it would both furnish a kind of warrant for the Futurists' notion of prophecy being silent where Israel is not prominently concerned; and also present a definite $3\frac{1}{2}$ years in that chapter of Israel's history, just correspondent in length with the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years elsewhere foretold of Antichrist.—Besides which the dogma, which is so much a favourite with Futurists, that Scripture is to be alone its own interpreter, furnishes a most convenient *à priori* argument against all historical schemes of prophetic interpretation. It is of course one which the Futurists themselves, as we have seen,¹ can never carry out.

II. The PRÆTERIST Apocalyptic Scheme;² as most recently expounded in the Commentary by the Rev. P. S. Desprez.³

On this, I am glad to say, comparatively little need be said. Mr. D.'s exposition is based, *altogether* based, on the hypothesis of the *Neronic* date of the Apocalypse, not the *Domitianic*, being the true one. "If not," confesses Mr. D. "the edifice (*viz.* of his Book) erected at so much cost and care will fall headlong to the ground." Does he then advance any new and convincing evidence or argument in favor of the *Neronic* date; besides what has been by myself, as well as by others, and more especially Professor Hengstenberg, fully stated, and fully refuted? None whatsoever. Indeed so superficial and so incorrect, as well as *altogether ex parte*, is the sketch of evidence, external and in-

¹ See the last paragraph in the Note to p. 516.

² By the *Præterist* scheme of exposition is meant conventionally one according to which the Apocalyptic prophecy has for its subject Christianity's past triumphs over Judaism and Paganism; as indicated chiefly in the desolations of Jerusalem and of heathen Rome.

³ "Apocalypse fulfilled" by the Rev. P. S. Desprez, of Wolverhampton. 1854.

ternal, which he has given on this, to him, fundamental question, that it is the most charitable conclusion that he has never read, or at least never studied, the elaborate arguments of other writers on the other side.¹ Even in Germany, after Hengstenberg's late decisive advocacy of the Domitianic date, I conceive that the current of opinion must be now fast setting among the learned towards it. And in England no testimony can be stronger in its favor than that of Dr. Davidson, the well-known and learned writer on Biblical Criticism. For, after twice publicly committing himself to the Neronic date,² and affirming the Præterist exposition of Ewald's Germanic School to be in consequence without doubt the true one, he has subsequently yielded to the strength of counter-argument and evidence; and in the 3rd Volume of his Book on Biblical

¹ As regards the *external* evidence on the question, or testimony of primitive antiquity, he represents it as uncertain and indecisive; though for the *Domitianic* date there are the names of *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Clement of Alexandria* (according to Eusebius,) *Hippolytus*, *Victorinus*, *Eusebius*, *Jerome*, all eminent writers of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th centuries; and for the *Neronic* none earlier than the subscription to a Syriac version of the Apocalypse written about the beginning of the 6th century. Well may Hengstenberg re-affirm what Lampe had before said, as "no paradox but the simple truth," that "all antiquity agrees in the opinion of Domitian's being the author of John's banishment." For, adds Hengstenberg, "the deviations from this are by such only as do not deserve to be heard and considered."

As regards the *internal* evidence, on which Hengstenberg says that "it yields this result that the Apocalypse could have been composed at no other time than during the reign of *Domitian*," Mr. Desprez urges the three following as decisive proofs of its having been written during *Nero's* persecution:—1st that Christ's *coming quickly* is spoken of in the Apocalypse; and that this *must mean his coming to destroy Jerusalem*, which was therefore then future, so as under Nero: 2ly that the depicted sealing of the 144,000 of Israel in Apoc. vii, measuring of the temple and altar in Apoc. xi, and killing of the witnesses in the great city, i. e. he says, Jerusalem, show that Jerusalem, and its temple and people, were all at that time existing, *the literal Israel, temple, and city* being intended: 3ly that of the Beast's heads in Apoc. xvii the five which had fallen when John had the Apocalyptic vision were the emperors Julius, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius; Nero being the 6th, who was then reigning. There is nothing new in all this. It has been again and again examined and refuted. (See my H. A. Vol. i. p. 512, and iv. 537, 545.) But the reader will observe that the force of each and all of the arguments depends on the correctness of Mr. D's own explanations of the prophetic statements or symbols. Each and every one is a *petitio principii*.—On his assumed *literality* of the Apocalyptic *Israel* it is a little curious to compare Mr. D's explanation of the Apocalyptic *Babylon* as a *symbol* of *Jerusalem*.

² Once in the *Eclectic Review*, and once in the article on "Revelation" in *Kitto's Encyclopædia*. See my notice of his two papers in the H. A. *ibid*.

Criticism¹ has renounced both the date, and the scheme of exposition founded on it. Hence "the edifice erected by Mr. Desprez at so much cost and care must," on his own confession, "fall headlong to the ground."—Characterized indeed as the book is by inaccuracy and inconsistency, alike in the structure of its scheme, in its statements of fact, and its reasonings,² one might suppose carelessness, rather than care, to have presided at its com-

¹ Vol. iii. p. 599—614.

² E. g. 1. As to *structure*.—In Mr. D's scheme the succession of the Apocalyptic Seals is duly noted; and the 7th Seal (the Seal of consummation) explained, quite naturally and properly, to be unfolded in the seven Trumpets. Yet, while the 4 first Seals are referred to Vespasian's reign, and the siege of Jerusalem, the 5th is interpreted of the martyrdoms some years before under Nero: and after expounding the 6th Seal, or rather the first half of the 6th Seal, of the destruction of Jerusalem, he makes the 7th Seal's 6 first subdividing Trumpets go back to symbolize events, some of more, some of less importance, quite irrespective of any chronological order, preceding that destruction.

2. As to Mr. D's *statements* of fact, I will instance some respecting myself.—In his Preface then, and at pp. 171, 183, 219, &c. he alludes sneeringly to me as converting the tails of scorpions in the 5th Trumpet into horse-tail standards. I have nowhere done so.—In the Preface, and at pp. 218, 220, &c. he speaks of me as making the mighty angel of Apoc. x. "at one moment the Lord Jesus; then the next moment metamorphosing him into Pope Lec X;" the Angel's cry as when a lion roareth being the roaring of Pope Leo X. against Luther. This is similarly a pure invention by Mr. D.—Further, he makes me say (p. 192) that "the fall of the Turkish empire will be in 1849." I have said no such thing; but only noted it as one possible form of Mr. Habershon's conjecture.—Yet in his Preface Mr. D. speaks as having given "a careful perusal" to my volumes.

3. Of Mr. D's *expository reasonings* the following specimens may suffice. In Apoc. xvii. he makes the woman *Babylon* mean *Jerusalem*; and that she is depicted (so p. 377) as sitting on the Beast (=Roman Empire), and on Rome's 7 hills, "because Jerusalem was carried and supported by Rome, Judæa being a Roman province." Now the time here referred to was that of Judæa's invasion, and Jerusalem's destruction, by the Romans! Elsewhere, p. 169, on the 5th Vial being poured on the *seat of the Beast*, *Jerusalem* is said to be the seat meant. So the Beast is the seat of Jerusalem; and Jerusalem the seat of the Beast.—In the 5th Trumpet the scorpion-locusts, explained as Roman cavalry, are said to have hair as the hair of *women*, to signify that they were *men*, and not natural locusts. In the 6th Trumpet the lion-headed horses from Euphrates are made the cavalry of Roman auxiliaries from that quarter; and the Apocalyptic number of two myriads of myriads, or 200 millions, to answer to the auxiliaries' number of 4000: while their power being in their mouths, and in their tails, alludes to the fact of oriental horses "being trained to attack with their mouths and fore feet, and to repel with the hinder feet." The last curious explanation, from the horses kicking behind, is (though not so specified) from Moses Stuart.—In the third Seal (p. 53) the words, "A chænix of wheat for a denarius," &c. or bushel for about £2, is expounded to signify the terrible famine in Jerusalem, during the time of its siege, when a bushel of wheat sold, not for £2, but for a talent = £375.: and this though what is added in the Apocalyptic figuration about the wine and oil being uninjured

position. But, however this may be, it adds its evidence to that of abler previous expositions on the Præteristic system, in proof of the impossibility of making out any consistent Apocalyptic exposition on that principle. And, as it is the only English Præteristic exposition, I believe, published in the course of the last four years,¹ we may infer that the scheme has less favor than a little earlier in this country; and may be expected to be abandoned soon altogether, except by ignorant and rash speculatists.

I ought to add that it is the peculiarity of Mr. D.'s Præteristic scheme to suppose only *one* catastrophe in the Apocalyptic prophecy, viz. that of the fall of Jerusalem and Judaism; instead of the two catastrophes of the fall of Jerusalem, and fall of heathen Rome, (symbolized as Babylon,) so as most other Præterists. For (as before noted) Mr. D. makes the Apocalyptic Babylon to be but a symbol of Jerusalem, though said to be seated on those seven hills of which the symbol, he admits, was the *Roman* Beast's seven heads. And Christ's coming to destroy Jerusalem, thus apocalyptically prefigured, is affirmed by him (affirmed in the most positive tone) to be that selfsame personal second coming at which it was declared in 1 Cor. xv, and in other New Testament scriptures, that the then departed saints should rise from their graves, and the then living saints be caught up into the air, to meet the Lord Jesus. Their resurrection and ascension was not indeed seen by any one. But why, argues Mr. Desprez, should not this have taken place at that time when Josephus tells us that heavenly apparitions of chariots and soldiers in armour were seen in the clouds, shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem? Wherefore, in this ascent of the *living* saints, St. John was left behind, Mr. D. omits to tell us.—Of course the millennium, or thousand years of Christ's

and abundant, and 3 chœnixes of barley, = 3 days' sustenance, being at the price of one days' labor (= a denarius), puts out of the question all idea of a *famine* being at all figured in this Seal.—Once more, the 1st Vial's noisome sore, on the worshippers of the Beast (= Roman empire,) is expounded to mean some sore on the *Jews*, who had *revolted* from Rome. The absurdities of Mr. D's. views respecting Christ's 2nd coming are referred to in the text above.

¹ Mr. Maurice indeed seems in his Church History Lectures, though doubtfully, to make the date of the Apocalypse Vitellius' reign, as observed in the next page. But his brief Lecture on it cannot be called an Exposition.

reign with his saints, is supposed by him to be the reign of Christianity, dating from the fall of Jerusalem, and advancing ever after towards universal supremacy: the term of 1000 years being a definite for a long indefinite period; and the predicted regeneration of all things, with its new heaven and new earth, then and therein having its fulfilment.

Ere turning from this class of expositors I ought not perhaps to omit mention of the *Rev. F. Maurice*: who, in his recently published *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*,¹ has devoted one Lecture to the Apocalypse. and in it generally, or at least primarily, seems to go on the Præterist scheme of exposition; including the fall of Jerusalem as one marked subject of revelation, as well as the fall of imperial Rome.² But indeed the sketch of the prophecy offered by him is so very brief and slight,—the opinions exprest on cardinal points, (e. g. the date of the Apocalypse, whether before or after the fall of Jerusalem,³ and meaning of the Apocalyptic Beast and Babylon,) are given so entirely, indeed doubtfully, as mere opinions, without any evidence or reasoning to support them, and with the avowed admission at the same time that other opinions altogether different may also have much truth in them,⁴—moreover, wherever in the Præterist view, which he

¹ Lectures given, it appears, to the Students of King's College, London.

² The fall of Jerusalem, as primarily meant by the earthquake of the 6th Seal; the fall of imperial Rome, as the subject primarily of Apoc. xviii.

³ The date of the Apocalypse given by Mr. M. in one place is the reign of the emperor Vitellius. For, at p. 156, he speaks of the brute power of the Apocalyptic Beast as gathered at the time of the vision into some person: i. e. he adds, "a Roman emperor; I should suppose most probably Vitellius."

Elsewhere, however, (see his p. 148) he speaks of the question "whether Jerusalem had fallen, or not," at the time of St. John's seeing the Apocalyptic visions, as a doubtful point. And so at p. 138; "the temple has either perished, or is about to perish." Of course, if the visions were seen *under Vitellius*, Jerusalem had not then fallen. How Vitellius' one year's reign could answer to the Apocalyptic Beast's predicted $3\frac{1}{2}$ is not explained.

⁴ Thus, at p. 159, on the subject of *Babylon*, while expressing his assurance that "what has been said by great and learned men on it must have much worth," he also suggests that if his readers "let the Divine Teacher himself open the book, and tell its meaning," they will deem it "not safe to limit its operation to any time, or place, or church;" but better to perceive "how deeply the evil principle had penetrated in St. John's own day."

favours, any definite or real fulfilment of any one of the prophecies is intimated, he so soon passes into other more vague and shadowy views of the same prefiguration, as if chiefly meant to depict certain general truths respecting the world, and the general principles of God's moral government of the world,¹—that it seems alike difficult and unfair to make it the subject of criticism. Like water vague and fugitive, it eludes the hand that would grasp it.—The *New Jerusalem*, I should add, Mr. Maurice, like Mr. Desprez, makes to be the Christian Church, “that better and diviner society than the old Jewish; and with the office assigned it (an office sometimes fulfilled, sometimes failed in) of bearing witness to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.”² How what is said of the New Jerusalem, having the glory of God to fill it, and its exemption

¹ The 6th Seal's convulsion, though primarily signifying Jerusalem's fall, has yet had many other fulfilments, and will have others still. The prophecy of Babylon's fall, though primarily of imperial Rome, has similarly had sundry other fulfilments, and will have more still. So at pp. 151, 160. The two witnesses' symbolic history (so at p. 154) means “that there have always been some men, or some forms and institutions, which have asserted the great principles of God's order and of his fellowship with man.” “The particular men may have been killed. But the principles could not die.”

The attempts to trace out persons in Church history who have answered to the character and offices of the Apocalyptic two witnesses, Mr. M. considers not only unimportant, but “that which has greatly confused the course of ecclesiastical history, and made the records of God's dealings with men unintelligible.” But how so, if in those attempts there has been faithfulness to historic truth? How but in Church history will he illustrate the truth of what he himself states, as we have seen, to be the meaning of the symbolization of the two witnesses?

At the opening of his Lectures on the Epistle to the Hebrews, Mr. M. says that “the modern historical student,” when studying Scripture prophecy, “will not generally care much for coincidences. Those which are presented to him by Scriptural interpreters he is apt to regard as merely fortuitous, or as produced by an ingenious distortion of words and facts. What he seeks is some law which may connect together the different facts he has observed in ecclesiastical history.” But is this right, or reasonable? Take the case of Jewish or heathen enquirers after truth in the Apostolic times. When Paul prest upon them the great fact of Jesus having been the Messiah of prophecy, would they have done well to set light by his argument from the coincidences with Old Testament prophecies about the Christ, in the life, character, history, and death of Jesus of Nazareth, as if unimportant: a *general* charge being made against them from the ingenious distortion of words and facts frequent in Jewish arguments from prophecy? Would they have done well to turn from these; and ask him, instead, for “some law which might connect together the different facts which they had observed in Jewish Church history?” Just so surely, also, in the prophetic argument about Antichrist.

² pp. 148, 161.

from curse, and sin, and death, can consist with the character and history, the sins and the sufferings, of the Christian Church visible ever since, we are not told.

IIIly, I feel called to notice certain late MILLENNARIO-PRÆTERISTIC schemes of Apocalyptic exposition, contradistinctively to the general Protestant views respecting the Millennium. For, if any such scheme be sustainable, that fact will necessarily militate against my explanation of the Beast as the Roman Pope and Popedom.

Dr. Wordsworth, in his late Lectures on the Apocalypse, has indeed combined his explanation of the Apocalyptic Beast as the Popedom with an explanation of the Apocalyptic millennium as a period in great measure already past: its commencement having synchronized, in his opinion, with Christ's triumph over Satan by his miracles and death; and been perpetuated ever after to his faithful people by the power over Satan imparted to them on their regeneration by baptism, which (in his view of the Apocalyptic phrase) is their first resurrection. But, waiving here other decisive objections to his scheme, St. John's declaration, "I saw (on the thrones) the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and whosoever had not worshipped the Beast, nor his image, and they reigned with Christ a thousand years," (observe, *all of them, οἱ τῶντες*,¹ *the whole thousand years*,) implies so obviously that the conflict of *all* of the enthroned that had not worshipped the Beast must have preceded the thousand years' reign, and Dan. vii. 9 so decisively fixes the time of their enthronization to the time of the destruction of the little horn, which Dr. W. admits to symbolize the Popes, that it seems to me marvellous how a man of his discernment could have allowed himself to fall into such palpable self-contradiction and error.²

¹ Not a representative two, or one, as in the case of the two witnesses and sun-clothed woman of Apoc. xi. and xii.

² Of course the contradictoriness of the idea of Satan's having been bound for this thousand years, so as not to deceive the nations, to the idea of the Papal Beast Antichrist, which was Satan's grand agent for deceiving the nations, having reigned in power during much of the selfsame thousand years, must strike every

In almost all other Millenario-Præteristic schemes of Apocalyptic exposition that I have seen, the Præterist view of the Millennium is accompanied with a non-Papal view of the Beast.¹ So in the three lately published Expositions by the *Rev. Isaac Williams*, the *Rev William Henry Scott*, and *Professor Hengstenberg* respectively. These I proceed briefly to notice; hoping to show in each and every case the manifest untenableness of their position.

1. *Mr. Williams.*²

On the millennium Mr. Williams is thus far more consistent than Dr. Wordsworth, in as much as he supposes that it is not till after Satan's loosing, at the close of the thousand years, that his grand instrument for deceiving the nations, *the man of sin, personal Antichrist, or Beast under his last head*, rises.³ For this, says he, corresponds with the going forth of the *post-millennial Gog and Magog*; (a strange identification, surely! ⁴) then raised

thoughtful inquirer. Dr. Wordsworth's answer to the objection is curious, but certainly most untenable. It turns upon the force of the Greek preposition *ἵνα*, in the clause *εσφραγισεν επανω αυτου ἵνα μη πλανησῃ τα εθνη ετι*. "sealed him in order that he should not deceive the nations any more." Here, argues Dr. W., the *intended object* of the sealing is declared, but not the *actual result*. "The corruptions of Popish times and countries show that men have despised what Christ has done for them; and *have loosed the enemy* who was bound by Christ." (So pp. 50, 51). But, unfortunately for this explanation, the time of Satan's being loosed is declared expressly not to take place until the *end of the thousand years*. Apoc. xx. 3, 7. And indeed at p. 75, Dr. W. himself speaks of Satan's loosing as an event yet future.—See on all this my H. A. iv. 127—139.

¹ While revising this, I have seen another exceptional case in the recently published Bampton Lectures of *Mr. Waldegrave*; Lectures Millenario-Præteristic on the Augustinian principle, but thoroughly Christian and Protestant. There needs no further answer however to this than what has been said above, and in my H. A. ubi supra.

² "The Apocalypse, with Notes and Reflexions; by the Rev. J. Williams, late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. (London, 1852.)

³ Says Mr. Williams himself, p. 413: "The saints that reign with Christ during the thousand years have many of them suffered under Antichrist. Therefore it cannot be that the reign of Antichrist begins at the end of the thousand years; though (he adds) it is then most intensely revealed."

⁴ A personal Antichrist being Satan's great instrument in raising up Gog and Magog, and yet not one word said of the person! The Beast too under his last and deadliest head; and yet not a word now said about the Beast, though the description had been so copious of his previous phases on the theatre of action.—It is indeed abundantly clear that the Beast in his *last* form is the Beast with the revived head in Apoc. xiii. For the perfect identity may be demonstrated be-

up by Satan against Christ's saints and Church, during "the little space" for which he is loosed. But still not without marked inconsistency, as compared with his view of the Beast's previous state, on Mr. W.'s part also; indeed inconsistency so marked as to strangle his millennarian theory, almost as decisively as Dr. Wordsworth has strangled his. For while expounding the saints' thousand years' reign, like Wordsworth, to symbolize the indefinite period of the visible Christian Church's existence on earth, from Christ's first founding it, and the Beast to be the *body of infidelity* in the world, with the constant accompaniment of a second lamb-like Beast, or *Christ-professing* false priesthood, like Judas,¹ (the infidelity under our present dispensation being ever mixt up with the religious hypocrisy of an apostate Church),² can it consist that this infidel Beast, with his mock Christianity, the Devil's chosen substitute for deceiving men, should be coextensive with the Christian Church, and have power over every tribe and tongue and nation, so that all shall worship him, except those whose names are in the Lamb's book of life, at the selfsame time that the saints are reigning on the earth, and Satan bound, so as not to deceive the nations?—Moreover, with reference to Mr. W.'s explanation of this deceiving of the nations, as meant only to signify that Satan would not deceive them into the old heathenism,³ are we to forget that during the whole period of the existence of Christianity the great bulk of the world have remained open and profest heathens?—And there is here yet a further marked self-contradiction. Mr. W. thinks that the "image of the Beast,"

tween this Beast and that from the abyss described in Apoc. xvii. See the argument drawn out very fully in my Ch. 3. Part iv of the *Horæ Apocalypticae*: also in the 2nd Paper in the Appendix to Vol. iii; where every objection is stated, and refuted at large.

¹ pp. 243—249.

² Mr. Williams has, in connexion with this idea, a most curious theory. He supposes that the restraining power spoken of in St. Paul's prophecy, whereby the full development of the Man of Sin was to be prevented, corresponds with the Babylon of Apoc. xvii, riding and restraining the Beast. For even a corrupt and apostate Christian Church prevents the full and open development, he says, of the blasphemies of infidelity. And when the apostolic visible Church perishes, then will be seen a resurrection of all the worst evils of infidel heathenism. See Mr. W.'s Preface p. xi and pp. 349, 355, 409 of his Book.

³ P. 408.

mentioned in Apoc. xiii, answers to the personal Antichrist ; in other words, to the Beast under his 8th and last, or *post-millennial* head.¹ But the saints that reign with Christ for the previous millennium are declared to be those who had not only not worshipped the Beast, but not worshipped *his image*.

It is not my purpose, or needful, that I should give any general account of Mr. W.'s exposition. It may be well however just to add a further remark or two respecting it.—1. Mr. W. professes objects alike in his Preface, and other parts of his book, to the *historic* plan of exposition ; as if leading men into “ the field of conjecture,” and “ entangling them with the web of human imaginings.”² Yet much is there in Mr. W.'s own exposition on the historic principle. The six first Seals he explains to signify “ the history of the Church ” during the existence of the temporal Israel : the 6th symbolizing the destruction of Jerusalem ; and the 7th, expanded into the seven Trumpets, the subsequent progressive history of the Christian Church. Thus the 1st Trumpet depicts (a second time) the fall of Jerusalem ; the 2nd “ the Church cast into the sea of nations, amidst the conflagrations of Jerusalem ; ” the 3rd Arianism ; the 4th infidelity ; the 5th Mahommedanism and the Saracens. The impropriety of much of this will readily strike an intelligent and well-informed student of the Apocalypse. My present object however in noticing it is simply to show that Mr. W. cannot by possibility avoid taking *history* into account in his exposition ;³ even while explaining that the apocalyptic picturings have other and various *allegorical* meanings, with reference to the Church. As to which is the severer mode of exposition, and the one most liable to mere human imaginings, the historic or the allegorical,—the *one* where you have to test every application by historic fact, historic fact considered in respect of time, place, and sundry other circumstantialia,—the *other* where there is nothing to limit the human fancying of analogies,—let the reader judge. Alike in Mr. W.'s exposition, and in almost all of the patristic or middle age expositions on the same

¹ See his pp. 425, 427, 433.

² Pref. p. xi.

³ Herein like the Futurists. See the Note p. 516.

plan, he will find abundant illustration of the wild and boundless imaginings of the allegorists.¹

I must not turn from Mr. W.'s Book without expressing my sense of the amiable and candid spirit in which it has been written: a spirit which many, who more or less may be supposed to agree with him in religious views, would do well indeed to imitate. Moreover, if he does not adopt the old Protestant view of Babylon, the Beast, and Antichrist, as meant distinctively of the Roman Papacy or Popes, he yet approximates to it: admitting (in contradiction to the Præterists who would explain all of old Roman heathenism) that an apostate church and priesthood is one essential element in the whole Apocalyptic picturing on the subject. Again, the two witnesses he explains as a symbol of many; "the faithful of successive times:"² and the great city, where they are said to be slain, to mean "the holy city, or Church visible throughout the world."³ Once more, as to the famous *year-day* principle, he admits it. In the prophecies "it is commonly the case," he says, "to use a day for a year."⁴ These are important approximations to the more general views of English Protestant expositors.

¹ The explanation of the Apocalyptic numerals by Mr. W. furnish an excellent illustration. Thus at p. 101, on the 5th Seal:—"Five speaks of what is imperfect; being half of *ten*, which is a perfect number. . . The number 5, as the 5 harley-loaves, speaks especially of the law. The 5 porches of Bethesda are taken by St. Augustin to represent the law with the 5 books of Moses. . . The 5 talents are given to be multiplied; the 5 virgins are but incomplete, being but half of the full number, and in waiting. Thus this 5th Seal is of those under the law, who are in waiting"

But "the number *six* is ever of Antichrist; the 6th Epistle, the 6th Seal, the 6th Trumpet, the 6th Vial, in ever extending cycles, as if 6, and 60, and 600. At the 6th hour on the 6th day is the power of Antichrist, the power of darkness. The number 6 is of man, on the 6th day created; of Adam in whom all die, without the 7th of sanctification; the creature without the rest of God; ever increasing by ten the aggregate of individuals, multiplying 6, and 60, and 600. . . Thus literally the number of the Beast (665) is the number of man." p. 251.

Every number almost is similarly allegorized, to mean just what fancy pleases. "In the Apocalypse," he says at p. 418, "numbers are a part of the divine symbolism." In all this, and in his view of Gog and Magog, Mr. W. seems to follow *Hengstenberg*.

² p. 200, 203.

³ p. 200.

⁴ p. 418. He seems there to explain Daniel's 70th week to mean *seven years*, on this principle: and so again, at p. 203, assimilates the two witnesses' $3\frac{1}{2}$ days of death to Elijah's $3\frac{1}{2}$ years' cessation of witness.

2. *Rev. W. H. Scott.*

Mr. S., in the advertisement prefix to his Book on the Apocalypse,¹ gives the following general sketch of the main points which he supposes himself to have established in his Exposition.

“That the principal subject of the Apocalypse is the Roman empire, and Rome the capital of that empire:—that a minute prophecy of events, times, and persons, connected either with the one, or with the other of these, is there given: that, in particular, the abolition of the empire is represented; and that the date of this is assumed to be 476 A. D., when the emperors of Rome ceased:—further that the *millennial period*, following the fall of Rome, corresponds to those ten centuries of the reign of the Church known as the middle ages:—that an interval of 40 years is represented as separating the fall of the Roman from the beginning of the Church empire; and that the latter therefore definitely began in the year 516, and ended with the year 1516:—that its overthrow was, in fact, the immediate result of the Reformation of 1517: that the imperial power of the Church was taken away at the Reformation, in punishment for the sins of the Church during the 1000 years:—that her position from the year 1517 to the present day is analogous to the captivity of Israel in Babylon during the 70 years:—finally that this captivity is not to be perpetual, but that a complete restoration of the Church to her former supremacy is now to be expected; and that this is to be brought about in the midst, and by the agency, of judgments on the temporal kingdoms of the modern world, analogous to those which overwhelmed the empire of Rome in the 5th century, and so opened the way for the Church empire of the middle ages.”

In order the better to enable the reader to judge of Mr. Scott's Apocalyptic scheme, and the manner in which he adjusts his fancied millennium of the middle age to it, I append a tabular sketch of it on the other side. And surely, unless I much deceive myself, it scarce needs more than to look at this scheme in order to be

¹ The Interpretation of the Apocalypse, by *William Henry Scott*, late Fellow of Brazenose College, Oxford. London, 1853.

REV. W. H. SCOTT'S APOCALYPTIC SCHEME.

B.C.	SEALS, TRUMPETS, AND VIALS.	APOCALYPTIC BEAST.	THE TWO WITNESSES AND SUNCLOTHED WOMAN.	B.C.
46	SEAL I. Julius = . . . 1st horn.	B E A S T ROMAN EMPIRE under its 7 first Heads in their primary sense; and 8th = Titus, the personal Antichrist.	Two Witnesses (= Jewish and Christian Churches) prophecy in sackcloth 3½ years = 70 years, till killed at fall of Jerusalem.	46
25	II. Augustus = . . . 2nd			A.D. 1
14	III. Tiberius = . . . 3rd			
37	IV. Caligula = . . . 4th			
41	V. { Claudius = . . . 5th			
54				
69	Galba, Otho, Vitellius = 7th, 8th, and 9th plucked up.			
70	VI. Vespasian = . . . 10th			
	Titus (under Vesp.) = 11th, or little horn			
79 to 161	VII. Half-hour's } = Titus to silence } Antoninus Pius.			
161 to 180	1st Trumpet and } M. Aurelius 1st Vial }	B E A S T continued under ten horns, in their secondary sense of the aggregate of all the Roman Emperors. Under Constantine it is wounded to death : under Julian it revives.	From A.D. 70 to 476 = the 3½ days of the two Witnesses lying dead : also = latter part of the 3½ times of the Sun-clothed Woman's sojourn in the Wilderness.	70
180 to 249	2nd Trumpet and } Commodus to 2nd Vial }			
249 to 268	3rd Trumpet and } Decius to 3rd Vial }			
268 to 284	4th Trumpet and } Claudius to Carinus 4th Vial }			
284 to 410	5th Trumpet and } to Alaric 5th Vial }			
410 to 474	6th Trumpet and } Theodosius 2 to 6th Vial }			
476	7th Trumpet and } Odoacer 7th Vial }			
516	The Two Witnesses' Resurrection and Ascension.			516
516 to 1516	M I L L E N N I U M and N E W J E R U S A L E M of C H U R C H S U P R E M A C Y			516 to 1516
1517 to 1855	SATAN loosed at REFORMATION for a little time.			1517 to 1855

convinced that grave criticism would be only wasted if applied to its confutation. From beginning to end it seems to set all reason and common sense at defiance in its lucubrations. Assuming (quite incorrectly, as we have seen)¹ that Nero's reign, not Domitian's, is the date of the Apocalypse, it makes the subjects of the five first Seals to be the reigns of the five emperors *preceding Nero*; though the revealing Angel expressly declares that those Seals were from the first, and throughout, to be prefigurations of what was to happen *thereafter*.—The groundwork of his exposition is said by him to be laid "in the combined number and accuracy of the coincidences" between the prophecy and history.² Yet not in one single Seal, or one single Trumpet or Vial, as explained by him, will there be found any distinctive coincidences between symbol and history whatsoever. E. g. Augustus Cæsar would do as well for the 1st Seal as Julius, indeed better;³ and Julius for the 2nd, as well as Augustus.⁴ Mr. Scott's real expository principle seems to be that of making any thing to mean any thing, however incongruous.—What can we think of the Jewish nation, while rejecting Christ and his apostles, being made one of Christ's witnesses; and the death of Christ's witnesses expounded as signifying the destruction of Jerusalem?—Very specially is this seen in Mr. Scott's explanation of the Apocalyptic numbers. By a singular exception he interprets the thousand years of the Apocalyptic millennium really to mean 1000 years. But the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times of the Woman's wilderness-sojourn he expounds as the 473 years from Christ to Odoacer; the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of the Witnesses prophesying in sackcloth as the 70 years that intervened between Christ's birth and the fall of Jerusalem; and the $3\frac{1}{2}$ days of the witnesses lying dead as the 406 years which intervened between Jerusalem's destruction and that of imperial Rome.⁵ The 70 weeks of Daniel's famous Messianic prophecy he explains to be otherwise represented as 7 weeks;⁶ and the *two myriads of myriads*

¹ See pp. 518, 519 *suprà*.

² Preliminary Advertisement.

³ The horseman in the 1st Seal goes on conquering and prosperous to the end. But Julius Cæsar's end was by assassination.

⁴ Civil wars having raged under one as well as under the other.

⁵ Pp. 42—45, 73.

⁶ P. 399.

(= 200 millions) of the Euphratean horsemen of the 6th Trumpet to be virtually the same as the 144,000 sealed Israelites in the sealing vision of the 6th Seal.¹ To make *Titus*' name answer to the numeral force of that of Antichrist, 666, not only is the ς in *ΤΙΤΟΣ* used as if meaning the digamma, with the force of 6, instead of as Σ , with the force of 200, but, while the other numerals of the Greek letters are all added together, as usual in such cases, the numeral ι = 10 is subtracted.² Once more, in order to justify his fixing on the year A. D. 516, (40 years after the extinction of the Western empire by Odoacer) as the commencing year of the millennium, or Church empire, (this being just 1000 years before the Reformation) reasons are given equally singular; and which it may be well to subjoin in a Note.³

On the whole it will be very evident that Mr. Scott's *millennary præteristic scheme* is a total failure: and that the hypothesis connected with it of the Apocalyptic Beast, or Antichrist, being the heathen Roman empire, or some particular heathen Roman emperor, in opposition to the old Protestant view of its symbolizing the Roman Popes and Poppedom, has gained no accession of strength from his Book.

3. Professor Hengstenberg.⁴

¹ P. 268.

² pp. 108, 109.

³ At p. 408 he thus recapitulates his reasons; the subject being, as he says, "all-important." At least it is all-important to his system. For it is thus that he gets 1000 years of the Papal supremacy, from A. D. 516. to 1516, for the Apocalyptic millennium, and infers the Reformation to be the loosing of Satan.

"We have seen, 1st, that the occurrence in the 7th Trumpet and Vial of a five-fold formula, or combination of terms, indicates, in accordance with the power of the number 5, that a period of waiting intervenes between the fall of the 4th (or Roman) and the beginning of the 5th (or Church) empire:—2ly, that the blood-stream of 1600 furlongs shows the period meant to be 40 years, and to terminate therefore with the year 516:—3ly, that this same period is represented by the 40 years' desolation of Egypt foretold by Ezekiel:—4ly, that it agrees with the 2½ months (75 days) spoken of by Daniel, (Dan. xii. 12,) as intervening between the fall of Antichrist and the beginning of the Church Kingdom:—5ly, that the year 516 is recognized as the date of the beginning of the New Jerusalem in the prophecy of the 70 weeks:—6ly that the same year is memorable as being that in which the chronological computation of time from the nativity of the Divine King of the millennial empire was first adopted. The year 516 being thus certainly (?) the beginning of the thousand years, their end can be no other than 1516."

Mr. Scott, as might have been expected from this main point in his theory, has since gone over, I hear, to Rome.

⁴ "The Revelation of St. John, expounded for those who search the Scrip-

HENGSTENBERG'S APOCALYPTIC SCHEME,

IN SEVEN GROUPS.

I. SEVEN EPISTLES. Apoc. ii, iii.	Instructions, Consolations, and Warnings to the Seven Asiatic Churches (representative of the Church general in its varying phases,) to prepare them for the great events of the coming future; specially Christ's speedy coming.				
II. SEVEN SEALS. Apoc. vi, vii.	1. Christ's marching to Victory; with judgments of <table border="0" style="margin-left: 40px;"> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: middle;"> $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2. \text{Discord,} \\ 3. \text{Scarcity,} \\ 4. \text{War, famine, and pestilence, and} \\ 5. \text{(on martyrs' cry)} \\ 6. \text{Great political convulsions;} \\ \text{and finally} \end{array} \right.$ </td><td style="vertical-align: middle; padding-left: 10px;"> $\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \\ \\ \end{array} \right\} \text{ever recurring in his train:}$ </td></tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">7. Silence of destroyed enemies.</td></tr> </table> Synchronous Sealing Vision, figuring the elect Christian Israel as always preserved in life.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2. \text{Discord,} \\ 3. \text{Scarcity,} \\ 4. \text{War, famine, and pestilence, and} \\ 5. \text{(on martyrs' cry)} \\ 6. \text{Great political convulsions;} \\ \text{and finally} \end{array} \right.$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \\ \\ \end{array} \right\} \text{ever recurring in his train:}$	7. Silence of destroyed enemies.	
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2. \text{Discord,} \\ 3. \text{Scarcity,} \\ 4. \text{War, famine, and pestilence, and} \\ 5. \text{(on martyrs' cry)} \\ 6. \text{Great political convulsions;} \\ \text{and finally} \end{array} \right.$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \\ \\ \end{array} \right\} \text{ever recurring in his train:}$				
7. Silence of destroyed enemies.					
III. SEVEN TRUMPETS. Apoc. viii.—xi.	Judgments of war, figured <table border="0" style="margin-left: 40px;"> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: middle;"> $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1. \text{as desolating hailstorm;} \\ 2. \text{as volcanic mountain;} \\ 3. \text{as river-poisoning meteor;} \\ 4. \text{as light-eclipsing darkness;} \\ 5. \text{as hell-emitted scorpion-locusts;} \\ 6. \text{as lion-headed cavalry hordes;} \end{array} \right.$ </td><td style="vertical-align: middle; padding-left: 10px;"> $\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \\ \\ \end{array} \right\} \text{ever recurring.}$ </td></tr> </table> Synchronous witness-vision; showing that witnesses for Christ shall not fail amidst Church corruption; but, when killed, ever revive, and in fine triumph.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1. \text{as desolating hailstorm;} \\ 2. \text{as volcanic mountain;} \\ 3. \text{as river-poisoning meteor;} \\ 4. \text{as light-eclipsing darkness;} \\ 5. \text{as hell-emitted scorpion-locusts;} \\ 6. \text{as lion-headed cavalry hordes;} \end{array} \right.$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \\ \\ \end{array} \right\} \text{ever recurring.}$		
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1. \text{as desolating hailstorm;} \\ 2. \text{as volcanic mountain;} \\ 3. \text{as river-poisoning meteor;} \\ 4. \text{as light-eclipsing darkness;} \\ 5. \text{as hell-emitted scorpion-locusts;} \\ 6. \text{as lion-headed cavalry hordes;} \end{array} \right.$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \\ \\ \end{array} \right\} \text{ever recurring.}$				
IV. DRAGON and BEASTS. Apoc. xi, xiii.	DRAGON = SATAN, as Prince of this world; and therefore impersonated with heads and horns, after the Beast's type. GREATER BEAST = World-power, under seven successive heads; 1. Egyptian, 2. Assyrian, 3. Babylonian, 4. Medo-Persian, 5. Grecian, 6. Roman; after destruction of which by the ten-horns (= Gothico-Germanic hordes,) those horns constitute collectively the 7th head. Then, after the Millennium thereupon following, the Beast revives under the afresh heathenized Germanic horns; = Gog and Magog of Apoc. xx. SMALLER BEAST = earthly, sensual, devilish wisdom.—Name and number of Beast = Adonikam.				
V. SEVEN VIALS. Apoc. xv, xvi.	Plagues ever recurring, chiefly of war; which, throughout its whole course, ever accompany the ungodly world's power.				
VI. JUDGMENT on BEASTS and DRAGON. Apoc. xvii—xx.	Beast's 6th or Roman head, and Babylon = heathen Rome, prophesied of as to be destroyed by the ten horns, or kings; i. e. the Germano-Gothic hordes of the 5th century. These hordes, at first Antichristian, wage war against Lamb; then are overcome by the Lamb, or converted. On which the Beast, or Heathendom, is for the time destroyed; and MILLENNIUM of Church supremacy begins; this being literally 1000 years from about 800 to 1800 A.D. The Beast is <i>just now</i> reviving (i. e. A.D. 1848), after type of Gog and Magog. It is doomed to speedy destruction; &c. Then Satan's or the Dragon's end.				
VII. NEW JERUSALEM. Apoc. xxi, xxii.	NEW JERUSALEM symbolizes reign and bliss of redeemed saints on the renewed earth.				

On the other side I have given a tabular scheme of this expositor's Apocalyptic scheme : from a mere glance at which it will be seen that of actual predictions of the future there is in the Apocalypse, according to it, really next to nothing. Three times indeed we find it stated that in the visions shown to St. John there was to be a *revelation* of the things which would shortly come to pass ; in Apoc. i. 1, i. 19, and iv. 1. Yet, according to Hengstenberg's scheme, the whole amount of revelation concerning the then coming future contained in the symbolizations of all the seven Seals, seven Trumpets, and seven Vials, which make up full half of the prophetic chapters of the Book, and which are themselves both arranged with the most marked regard to order of succession, and often full of detail, as well as very varied, in their figurings; was this :—that Christ had gone forth conquering and to conquer ; that in his train, and as means to that end, there would be a recurrence from time to time of the desolating judgments of war, scarcity, famine, and pestilence against his enemies ; and that meanwhile neither should the Church of the faithful ever fail, nor witnesses for Christ's truth be ever wanting, whatever the visible Church's corruption : the latter, wheresoever destroyed in appearance, soon reviving and springing up again. Did it need a new Apocalypse to assure the disciples of this ? Had not Christ himself, and his apostles, already again and again declared as much ?¹—In order to reduce the visions to this nothingness of meaning it needed of course that the Apocalyptic *numeral terms*, like the visible symbols, should be frittered away by some generalizing process, so as to signify nothing definite or specific. And so accordingly it is in H's exposition. The 4th

tures, by E. W. Hengstenberg, Doctor and Professor of Theology in Berlin."—It should be stated that I use Mr. Fairbairn's Translation, Edinburgh 1852. This had not been published when I published the 4th Edition of my *Horæ Apoc.* in 1851. But the late Rev. T. K. Arnold had then already given a short abstract of parts of it in his *Theological Critic* ; and to it I replied in the Appendix to my 3rd Volume of the *Horæ*, pp. 564—570 ; a critique to which on reperusal I entirely adhere. But as this was partial, and in answer to a very brief and partial sketch of Hengstenberg's views, I have felt it due to the Professor to add here a fuller sketch of them, in a tabular form, and a fuller critical notice.

¹ E. g. in Matt. xxiv. 6—11, xvi. 18, and xxviii. 20, we find as much, or more, told of the future.

part of the earth in the 4th Seal simply "points to this, that fearful judgments were still to come."¹ The 3rd part of the earth in the Trumpets shows that "it is still not the final judgment."² The "hour, day, month and year," at which (or after which) the third part of the men were to be slain, means simply that the exact time is fixt in God's councils.³ The 5 months of the scorpion-locusts of the 5th Trumpet denote "a *very long* period, though still not the longest."⁴ The $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of the Church in the wilderness, (which is "the world's signature,") though eight times as long as the 5 months, denote "a broken and *short* period."⁵ Alone the thousand years of the millennium are to be understood in a definite and chronological sense, to signify literally one thousand years: a singularity in his exposition of the prophetic numerals the reason of which, as we shall see at the end of the critique, is not difficult of conjecture.

As to Professor H.'s view of the Apocalyptic *Beast* as the ruling *world-power*, and of its *heads* as denoting the various kingdoms to which the world's chief supremacy has successively belonged, viz. the Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and 6thly Roman,—there is this obvious and fatal objection against it, that the Beast's seven heads were declared to symbolize those seven hills on which the woman Babylon in Apoc. xvii, that is Rome, sate:—a definition infinitely important to the right understanding of this symbol; and which ties down the Beast, under all its successive heads and phases, from first to last, to that self-same well-known site of Rome's seven hills.⁶ So that the only debatable question is the meaning of those several successive heads, in relation to the one *Roman State*: and whether to be confined to the times and rulers of *heathen* Rome, or to admit of application also to the times and rulers of *Papal* Rome. And really it does seem to me monstrous to suppose the Apocalyptic symbol of Babylon, with the Beast under its last head sustaining her, (Apoc.

¹ Vol. i. p. 259.² i. 343.³ i. 368.⁴ i. 359.⁵ i. 464, 477, 396.

⁶ So, I see, already in the critique in my H. A. iii. 570. Let me beg to refer the inquirer on this most important point of indication to my H. A. Vol iii, pp. 101—103.

xvii.) to be restricted in its meaning to *heathen*, or rather *imperial* Rome;¹ and Babylon's destruction, as immediately after figured, (Apoc xviii.) to be by consequence imperial Rome's temporary desolation by the Goths in the 5th and 6th centuries, when the very strongest conceivable language is Apocalyptically used to express the eternity of that desolation; "Her smoke rose up *εις τους αιωνας των αιωνων*, *for ever and ever*."² Let but the enquirer look for himself; and he will find that this phrase is never used in Scripture but of that which is absolutely, and in the strongest sense of the word, eternal.³ Hengstenberg's justificatory reason for explaining it in reference to imperial Rome's destruction is given in the note below in its entirety.⁴ And surely the cita-

¹ I have already urged the truth of the case, as here hinted, in my Review of *Bossuet's Scheme* in the H. A. iv. 555. "Was it really Rome *Pagan* that was desolated by the Goths? Surely, if there be a fact clear in history, it is this, that it was Rome *Christianized in profession*,—I might almost say Rome *Papal*, that was the subject of these desolations." This fact is there further illustrated from history; as the reader will see. It constitutes of itself a decisive and fatal objection to Hengstenberg's view.

He notes, and attempts to reply to, this objection, Vol. ii. pp. 243—245. But how?—1st, he says, When the judgment *first began* to be executed, Rome was heathen: referring, I suppose, to the times of the Germanic irruptions into the empire in the *3rd century*, before Constantine. But whence does he himself date the rise of the ten horns? Just like other expositors, from the times of Alaric, &c. at the end of the 4th and beginning of the 5th century. See his p. 205.—2ly, he says that Rome was very corrupt even "*after its formal conversion to Christianity*." No doubt; and on this corruption the Papacy was founded. But herein Hengstenberg's argument is against himself. It is in favour of the Apocalyptic Babylon in Apoc. xvii. meaning Rome *Papal*, not Rome *Pagan*.

² Apoc. xix. 3.

³ It occurs Gal. i. 5, Phil. iv. 20, 1 Tim. i. 17, 2 Tim. iv. 18, Heb. xiii. 21, 1 Peter iv. 11, v. 11; and in all these passages with reference to the glory ascribed to God *everlastingly*. In the Apocalypse it is used Apoc. i. 6, 18, iv. 9, 10, v. 13, 14, vii. 12, x. 6, xv. 7, xxii. 5, with reference to the everlasting glory, existence, or kingdom of Christ. The only other passages where the phrase occurs in this book are the three cognate ones of Apoc. xiv. 11, xix. 3, xx. 10: where the devil's eternal torment is spoken of, in the lake of fire; and that of Babylon, the Beast, and the Beast's worshippers.

⁴ "In Isa. xxxiv, 9, 10 it is said of Edom, the type of the ungodly heathen world, 'Her land shall be burning pitch: day and night it shall not be extinguished; its smoke shall go up for ever and ever.' This fundamental passage shows that here (viz. on Apoc. xix. 3 about Babylon's destruction) Apoc. xviii, 9, 18 is to be compared! and not Apoc. xiv. 11, where everlasting fire is used as an image of the torments of hell." Hengstenberg, ii. 242.—But who told the Professor that Edom, in this passage of Isaiah was only meant as a type of the ungodly heathen world? Such was not the general notion of either Jewish or Christian expositors.

tion will be thought by each discerning reader to illustrate the foolishness, and on sacred subjects worse than foolishness, of attempting an impossibility.

As to his view of the Apocalyptic *millenium*, as the thousand years of Church rule, (Papal Church rule), from about 800 to 1800 A. D, there needs to justify it that something be shown from history before the commencement of that period, not only answering to Babylon's everlasting destruction, but also that may answer to the Lamb's predicted victory over the kings of the earth, or ten horns of the Beast,¹ Rome's destined temporary desolators. For the latter, as well as the former, is set forth as a premillenary event in Apoc. xvii. 14, xix. 19, compared with Dan. vii. Now the obviousness of a consistent historic explanation of this particular, as well as of all other particulars in the visions, on the usual Protestant Anti-Papal view of Babylon and its ten-horned supporting Beast, has been long since shown by me. The Germano-Gothic horns, before receiving their kingdoms, did, we know from history, tear, burn, and desolate *imperial* Rome :² then, so soon as Rome became *Papal*, (in which form she is depicted in the vision of Apoc. xvii,³ not the *imperial*,) having just succeeded in portioning out among themselves in different kingdoms the old Roman empire, they combined to acknowledge Christ's Vicar, the Pope, as their common father and head. And so they did thenceforth not only give their power to the Roman Popes, the Beast's new head, (called the Beast by the interpreting Angel,⁴) but also afterwards, except during a brief interval in the French revolutionary wars, foreshadowed I suppose in the Apocalyptic Vials,⁵

¹ "These *ten kings* are the only powers in amity with the Beast, and in hostility to Christ, which still remain on the field ; the only ones therefore which can be understood here by the *kings of the earth*." So Hengstenberg on Apoc. xix. 10 ; ii. 258.

² As the Angel's explanation in Apoc. xvii. included the Beast's history, prior to his existence under that 8th head under which the vision represents him as upholding the cup-bearing or Papal Rome, (see my H. A. iv. 30, and the Papal medal there given illustrative of this,) so it included also the history of the woman, or Rome, prior to her existence in the Papal form depicted in the vision. I have called attention to this in my Preface to the 4th Edition of the H. A.

³ The cupbearing form, noticed in the preceding Note.

⁴ Apoc. xvii. 11.

⁵ Especially the 5th Vial. See my H. A. ad loc.

furnished its real sustaining support to Papal Rome.—As to their final predicted conflict with the Lamb, and the Lamb's victory over them, it is surely to be regarded as an event yet future, which will accompany, or immediately follow after, Papal Rome's everlasting destruction, introductorily to the world's millenary Jubilee.—But since in Hengstenberg's scheme, as I said, the Lamb's victory over the ten horns must precede A. D. 800, he seeks to explain it by reference to the Gothic kings' conversion to orthodox Christianity, resulting, he says, from these desolating wars with each other in the 5th, 6th and 7th, centuries.¹ But could their fighting with *each other*, before their conversion to orthodox Christianity, be figured as fighting with the Lamb? Again, could their conversion to Christianity which H. designates (not very correctly) as the result of these wars, answer to the terrible Apocalyptic figuring of the end of the ten horns' conflict with the Lamb; viz. a slaughter like as for the supper of the great God, in which all the fowls of the heaven are to fill themselves with their flesh; and one in which the Lamb will tread the winepress of the wrath of God?—Once more, as to Hengstenberg's *millennium* itself, and his theory of its answering, with its prefigured rule of the saints and binding of Satan, to the Christian Church's (mainly the Papal Church's) supremacy throughout the middle ages, and after it, let not his own admission be forgotten that at times "the Papacy did indeed look very like the Beast."² So that the saints' rule, and the rule of that which was very like the Beast, were then, according to him, not only coexistent but identical.

Most assuredly Hengstenberg has no more succeeded than Mr. Scott, or others of the Millenario-Præteristic school before him, in making out even a *locus standi* for the theory of a past millennium. As little has he succeeded in making out a case against the old Protestant view of the Apocalyptic Babylon, and Beast that upheld her, as symbols of Papal Rome, and the Popes, or Popedom.³ One

¹ Hengst. ii. 259.

² ii. 67.

³ The Popes being the ruling head, as I conceive, of the Beast in his last form; the Popedom, or Papal European empire, the body of the Beast.

Hengstenberg's argument on this head against Bengel and others occupies in his 2nd Volume from p. 56 to p. 67; and is as follows—:

marvels how a man of his literary attainments and reputation could have deluded himself into the scheme of belief expressed in this Book. I incline to infer from certain passages in it that the revolutionary outbreaks of the year 1848, amidst which he wrote much of it,¹ acted with a kind of bewildering effect on his mind; and impelled him, coûte qui coûte, to regard those outbreaks round him as signs of Satan's predicted outbreaking from his prison. Nor, in this state of feeling, could he fail to look with more sympathy and even favour on the Papacy than his great predecessors in Apocalyptic interpretation, whom he so often refers to, Vitrtinga and Bengel; seeing that the Papal authorities, as well as the kingly and social, were objects of the then prevalent revolutionary hatred and violence.²

1st, he says, the Papal application of the prophecy does not square with *his own view* of the meaning of Apoc. xii, of the Seals and Trumpets, or moreover of Dan. vii. where he makes the Beast the *world-power*, as in the Apocalypse.—But is *his own view* on these points right? Those he argues against would say not.

2. There is, says he, nothing *pseudo-Christian, ecclesiastical, or hypocritical* in the characteristics either of the Beast in Apoc. xiii, of the cognate Man of Sin in 2 Thessalonians, or of Babylon in Apoc. xviii: but only open profest impiety and blasphemy.—Yet he admits that the *temple of God*, in which the man of sin was to sit, must mean the Christian professing Church; though he would have the predicted enemy to press in upon it *ab extrâ*. But if he *sits in it* afterwards he must have left it standing; which H. conceives the Man of Sin and Beast will not do. Moreover he admits that the lamb-like False prophet, attendant on the Beast in Apoc. xiii, *may* mean pseudo-Christian teachers. He only argues (not correctly if we rest ourselves on the fundamental passage Matt. vii. 15) that the symbol *may* also mean other false teachers.—On this point not only are the Patristic expositors, such as Irenæus, Hippolytus, Chrysostom, Jerom, Augustine, &c. &c. against Hengstenberg, but also the mass of the Papal expositors. Says Bossuet on Apoc. xx. 14, about his expected future Antichrist; “On doit attendre sous l'Antichrist les signes les plus trompeurs qu'on ait jamais vus; avec la malice la plus cachée, l'hypocrisie la plus fine, et la peau du loup la mieux couverte de celle des brebis.”—As regards *Babylon*, with its pictured *cupbearing* in Apoc. xvii, the medals of Papal Rome, already alluded to, do themselves illustrate the propriety of such its application.

3. The unsatisfactoriness of the explanations by Protestant expositors, on this theory of the *Beast's heads* and *Beast's image*, is urged by Hengstenberg. In reply I must beg to say that I have no where seen, though the matter has been well sifted by hostile critics, any argument of the least strength against the explanations given by myself in the H. A. of these symbols:—the Beast's 7th head being, according to it, the *diademed* quadripartite Diocletianic form of government, or emperors, the 8th the Papal government, or Popes: and the *Beast's image* the Papal General Councils.

¹ See the Preface; also ii. 67, &c.

² The chief and almost only really valuable part of Hengstenberg's Commentary

If however this might be pleaded in excuse for Hengstenberg, there seems no such excuse for his English endorser in 1851, *Dr. Davidson*.¹ He throws himself with just the same implicit reliance into the scheme of this learned German expositor, as he had thrown himself a few years before into that of other learned German expositors, whose views were in almost every point diametrically different from Hengstenberg's:² gives accordingly his seven groupings; speaks like him of *specific* events as not so to be found in the Seals, Trumpets and Vials; and does not even disavow his *millenario-præteristic* view, though he had well said before, "The description given in the 20th ch. of the Apocalypse is *extravagantly* figurative, as appropriated to any period of the Church's history already past."³—"We cannot refrain," says he, at the conclusion of his Work on the New Testament, "from alluding to the work of Hengstenberg as the only one which in our view approaches the true scope and sense of the Apocalypse. That erudite commentator has had the sagacity, and piety, to trace out the lines of a correct interpretation."⁴

4ly, *the Christian Remembrancer*.

In the October Number of this Periodical for the year 1853 there is an Article somewhat elaborated on "the Apocalypse." And as this is the reputed theological organ of the party in our Church generally called Tractarian, and the Article itself has by some been attributed (whether truly or not) to a late member of that body of distinguished talents and learning, it seems to me a duty to give it full consideration in this Paper. The Article is headed by a list of ten works more or less recent on the Apocalypse; my own,⁵ and those of Wordsworth, Moses Stuart, Todd, Scott, Williams, Züllig, and Hengstenberg in the number.

seems to me to be his elaborate argument for the Domitianic date of the Apocalypse.

¹ Introduction to the New Testament, Vol. iii.

² In an Article in the Eclectic Review for December 1844, and another on the "Revelation" in Kitto's Encyclopædia.

³ His own Italics. Kitto.

⁴ I shall have to make some further remarks on Dr. Davidson under my next and concluding head.

⁵ The Reviewer *professedly* uses the 1st Edition of my Book, published in 1844.

At the commencement, and with the object evidently of exciting prejudice against the general views of Apocalyptic interpretation propounded in my Book, the Reviewer alludes in a tone of ridicule to certain opinions there expressed by me, he says, as to the future, and which have been already in part disproved by the event. How far he is correct in his representations will be seen below.¹ It would be well had he remembered the warning of his friend Dr. Pusey, when protesting against a similar tone of writing as adopted against Tractarian religious doctrine. "Ridicule cannot be employed with impunity as a test of truth. . . . We are standing upon holy ground; and it beseems us to tread reverently."² The spirit of ridicule on such subjects is seldom unassociated with that of disregard to truth.

Now the 4th Edition had been published in 1851, two years before the writing of his Review: an edition not only generally enlarged and improved throughout; but with elaborate Papers appended on all the chief subjects of controversy respecting Apocalyptic interpretation. If truth and fairness were intended in the Review would he not have used the 4th Edition?

¹ 1st, Mr. Habershon's idea that "the hour day month and year" of the 6th Trumpet is a period to be calculated *from* the fall of Constantinople A. D. 1453; and so ending in 1844, or 1849, according as the prophetic year is taken at 360 or 365 days, is represented by the Reviewer, just as by Mr. Desprez after him, as *my calculation* of the time when the Turks would be expelled from Europe; an idea falsified by the event. Now in the passage where I notice this view of Mr. H. the Reviewer had before his eyes the statement of my full conviction of the correctness of the interpretation of the Apocalyptic period elsewhere given by me, as a period already long since *past*, and *ending* with the fall of Constantinople: adding only that "it was not impossible" but that a double interpretation might be intended, such as to admit also of Mr. H.'s view; but this as "mere conjecture."

2ly, he makes me say that by 1865, or thereabouts, the destruction of Papal Rome "is to be effected by earthquake and volcanic fire:" (an agency, let it be observed, not only noted apparently in Scripture prophecy, but believed in by the early fathers of the Church:) and that, if that period passes away without such catastrophe, then my volumes must be laid aside; i. e. as falsified by the event.—Here I have to complain of the *positive* tone respecting the future ascribed to me; whereas I speak of this simply as my *inference* from prophecy as to "*the probable progress of events*." And, of course, unless the various prophetic periods that end in the consummation be supposed altogether vague and indefinite in their meaning, contrary to the most notable Scripture precedents, such as that of Daniel's 70 hebdomads, the Apocalyptic expositor is forced to some conclusion as to probabilities on this point; just as those that in old times waited for Israel's consolation calculated from other prophecies on the probable time of Christ's first coming. And, even supposing mistaken expectation about the future, is this a reason why the mass of the Book, which regards the past, and may be verified by it, should be set aside?

² Oxford Tracts lxxvii. 5.

Proceeding to his main subject the Reviewer designates the four chief existing schools of Apocalyptic interpretation as the *Patristic*, *Futurist*, *Anti-Pagan* and *Antipapal* : defining the *Patristic* as that which regards the Apocalypse “as a series of pictures applicable to any events to which they might be found analogous ;” and eulogizing Mr. J. Williams’ Commentary¹ as an admirable example of it, indeed “one of the best books on the Revelation which has been published for many years in England.”² But he adds this most just remark—a remark which should not be forgotten by the readers of the Christian Remembrancer :—“The structure of the Apocalypse however so decidedly requires it to be treated as the prediction of some continuous and specific series of actions, that its employment merely as a storehouse of illustrative imagery can never satisfy the conscientious student of Scripture :” and, moreover, observes elsewhere that the twice repeated declaration, “the time is at hand,” is wholly incomprehensible “on the supposition that the events detailed were not to commence for many centuries.”³ Thus he sets aside, as untenable, alike the *Patristic* and the *Futurist* schools : and concludes that the real question is between the *Anti-Pagan* and the *Anti-Papal* scheme ; the one referring the Apocalyptic symbols of Babylon and the Beast to *heathen* Rome, the other to Rome *Papal*.

And then against the *Anti-Papal* scheme he urges strongly the general objection that its advocates “substitute human conjecture (in their interpretations) for divine inspiration.” Not, he adds, that “we are to reject, as without meaning, the Scripture images which are not distinctly explained” ; or that “human study and inquiry have no office in the interpretation of the word of God :” for that this is legitimate, “when not exceeding the analogy of the faith, and referring continually to the guidance of the Spirit, and the authority of the Church.”⁴ What he complains of in the Expositions referred to is “the lawless spirit which subjects Scripture to itself, instead of being subject to Scripture.” It is a satisfaction to me to concur with the Reviewer on these general

¹ The same that I have reviewed at p. 525 *suprà*.

² p. 385.

³ Pp. 386, 402.

⁴ p. 388.

principles ; if by “ the analogy of the faith ” I rightly understand him to mean the analogy of Scripture phraseology and doctrine ; and again by “ the authority of the Church ” the teaching of the Christian fathers of the 4 or 5 first centuries, so far as they were competent to judge, or that of the fathers of the reformed Church of England. How far these several criteria will bear him out in his conclusions against Apocalyptic views, like my own, will appear as we proceed.

Take the two interpretations of the *scorpion-locusts* of the 5th Trumpet, and *seven thunders* that occur in the Angel-vision under the 6th Trumpet ; which he himself first selects as specimens, in proof of his charge against the Horæ.

As regards the *former* then a whole introductory Section is occupied in my Book in illustrating the Scripture custom of *local* and *personal appropriateness* in its symbolic imagery. And the local and personal appropriateness to *Arabs*, distinctively from among all other nations, of all the many very curious particulars in the compound *scorpion-locust* symbolization, is shown, and argued from, as proof that that was the nation intended ; the time of the locust plague being fixt to near about that of the irruption into Roman Christendom of the Mahommedan Arabs, or Saracens, of the 7th century, by the chronological chain of the preceding Seals and Trumpets, reaching (if my evidence suffice) down to the end of the 6th century. Is not this most markedly making use of “ human study and inquiry,” in just that subordination which the Reviewer urges to the analogy of Scripture, and guidance thereby of the Holy Spirit ? A pictorial sketch is appended, as it is stated, “ from imagination ” ; simply “ to illustrate the possible combination of the details of the Apocalyptic symbol : ” but no argument whatsoever is founded on the picture. What then is here the Reviewer’s objection and argument against my exposition ? He refutes not,—he cannot, and does not attempt to refute, all that chain of evidence which, *according to the analogy of Scripture*, fixes the scene and subject to Arabia. He only says that all that “ proves nothing ” ; and that the whole argument depends

on the Saracenic character of the *picture*.¹ This surely is not criticism. It is falsification.

And so again as regards my exposition of *the seven thunders*. Brought by the catastrophe of the 6th Trumpet, through its lion-headed horsemen from the Euphrates, which is explained by me, as by most English Protestant expositors, of the Turks' overthrow of the Greek empire on the capture of Constantinople in 1453,² and further by the detailed specification next following of the corruptions of what remained of Roman Christendom, all elaborately verified by me in the Papal history of the latter half of the same 15th century,—thus brought, I say, to the very epoch of the Reformation, of what but it could one, with any fair presumption of truth, explain the immediately consequent vision of the covenant Angel's sudden light bearing descent on the Apocalyptic earth, planting his feet on sea and land, as if to claim them for his own, and cry, as when a lion roareth, as if against some usurper of his rights and place?—And then as to "*the seven thunders*" which, when the Angel had cried, uttered their voices,—voices which John was about to write, but was charged not to write by a voice from heaven,—what could be more markedly deferential to the analogy of Scripture, and mind of the Spirit, in seeking the solution of this enigma, than the plan pursued in the *Horæ*:—1st, noting the *vocality* of the thunders with some *distinct intelligible voice*, and illustrating this point from other Scriptures: 2ly, marking down all the three several passages in the Apocalypse, where the Apostle was charged *to write* voices which he heard, and the reason given for writing, viz. because they were true and faithful; whence the inference that those which he was so solemnly charged not to write must have been mere *mock thunders from heaven*,

¹ Pp. 392, 393 of the Review.

² The catastrophe was to be accomplished at the expiration of the very singularly exprest phrase of "the hour day month and year," dated apparently from the horsemen's loosing from the Euphrates. This, on the *year-day* system, amounts to 396 years 118 days. And none surely but must be struck with the fact that this period, measured from the Moslem Turkman's first loosing from the Euphrates, reaches precisely to the 40th day of the siege of Constantinople; on which selfsame day Gibbon remarks; "After a siege of 40 *days* the fate of Constantinople could no longer be averted."

whose voices were *not* true and faithful : and then, 3ly, (still from Scripture) noting the frequent *symbolic* character of the prophets in such prophetic visions, as representatives of others like them in character at the time signified in the vision ? Which process of inquiry and argument having been drawn out thus far from *Scripture*, recourse might surely now be had with fitness to “human study and inquiry,” for such light as it might be able to reflect upon the subject ; alike as to the thunders meant, and him whom the evangelist John might probably have impersonated in these actings in the vision. Whence it appeared that as voices from *the Roman seven-hilled city*, and its *emperor*, were in heathen times designated both as *thunders*, and the *seven voices*,¹ so in Papal times *Papal thunders from Rome* have been similarly spoken of as “the seven thunders :”²—moreover that, at the early outburst of light at the Reformation, as Luther answered beyond all others in his preaching to the character of the great Evangelist of the age, so, when the Pope first launched his thunders from Rome against him, he was for a while inclined to receive and defer to them as Christ’s voice from heaven ; (a reception which would have stopt the progress of the Reformation ;) till warned as from heaven that, instead of being Christ’s voice, the Papal thunders were the voice of *Anti-Christ*.—So far as I can see, the Reviewer’s own declared principles of right reasoning in Apocalyptic exposition were herein markedly followed out by me : and, as the result, my application of the prophecy to the second most interesting and important epoch of the history of the Reformation fully warranted.

What then is the Reviewer’s ground of objection ? Not a word is said by him of the chronological force of the preceding visions : not a word of the patient tracing out by me of the analogies of

¹ Of the imperial *fulmina* from Rome, under Domitian, many examples are given by me in the 4th Edition of the *Horæ* : and of the *seven voices* from its seven hills the following from Claudian ;

collesque, canoris

Plausibus impulsæ, septenâ voce resultant.

² “Rome, the capital of the Christian world, now takes her proper place at the head of universal development : and from her seven hills seven thunders utter their voices, proclaiming that liberty and religion are henceforth inseparable.”

So an eminent Roman Catholic writer, under the signature of *Albano*, in the *Nation* of March 1848.—See my *Horæ Apoc.* Vol. ii. pp. 107, 111.

Scripture, on all the several points involved in the enigma of the seven thunders. But he thus burlesques my argument. I must needs, he argues, on my system, have some figuration of the Reformation. I seek it therefore in the Angel; whose right foot on the *sea* might figure the Reformation in insular England, the left foot on *land* that in continental Christendom: sea and land being here taken literally, contrary to my own declaration that in this book they are emblems.¹ "But, as this is a small basis on which to rest the argument, the roll of the thunder comes in as a reserve. The thunders were not to be written. Why not? Plainly because they must have been bad thunders. Now who is the bad thunderer? Obviously the Pope. And this accounts for the number of the thunders; as re-echoing from his seven hills. So then these thunders were the bull against Luther; and we have demonstration that the Angel represented the Reformation."²—Is this, I ask again, fair criticism? Or is it misrepresentation, as well as burlesque? Misrepresentation, by omission more especially, almost amounting to falsification?³—As to his own counter-solution, (one derived not from *Scripture analogy*, but from *Jewish Rabbinical tradition*,) to the effect that "the seven thunders" are to be explained as meaning nothing more than God's thunder, such as in a common storm of thunder and lightning, like that described in the 29th Psalm, I have to observe that it is not from ignorance, or "inattention to" this Jewish tradition, that I have adhered to the view given above: seeing that in the 4th Edition of the *Horæ*, published two years before the Review, and which its writer may probably have had before him when writing,⁴

¹ So far from this, in my Vol. i. I devote an express Section, preliminarily to the Trumpets, to prove the mixture in Scripture prophecy of the literal and symbolic, more especially in *local* and *geographic* terms. ² P. 390 of the Review.

³ The same misrepresentation characterizes his notice of yet one other point of exposition in the *Horæ*; viz. that of the frog-like spirit from the false prophet under the 6th Vial, as designating the spirit of priestcraft, such as characterizes the Tractarian school. There is an elaborate chain of evidence to prove my application of it.—And, let it be observed, that instead of being confined to England this spirit has acted most influentially, since the epoch spoken of, alike in France, North Germany, Sweden, &c.

⁴ At p. 387 he gives that selfsame account of the dialogue in Latin between Sheldon and Prideaux about Antichrist in the Oxford Schools, which I have given in my 4th Edition at p. 557 of my 3rd Volume.

this Rabbinical notion is stated from Züllig and Eisenmenger ;¹ tho' only as what was in the passage under consideration clearly inapplicable. For is the common thunder of the tempest vocal with distinct intelligible voices ? Or, in such a case, would St. John have had solemn warning from heaven not to write what they said ? The Reviewer, as might be expected, is silent on these essentially important considerations.

I have reasons for entering thus fully on these two criticisms ; for they fill several pages in the Christian Remembrancer, and are his chosen preliminary to the attack on my anti-Papal exposition of the Apocalyptic *Beast* and *Babylon*. But now to this the main object in the Review.—Against the *anti-Papal* solution then he objects, 1st, the impossibility of distinguishing, and reconciling, on this principle the three so intimately associated symbols of the two Beasts of Apoc. xiii, and Harlot seated on the first Beast in Apoc. xvii. But how so ? Are not the explanations given in the *Horæ* (pretty much as by Mede and others) to the effect that the *first Beast* figures the *Papal Roman Empire*, with the Pope in character of Christ's Vicar for its *ruling head*, and the ten Papal kingdoms of Western Europe answering to the ten horns on the head,—that the *second*, or *lamb-like Beast*, figures the *Papal priesthood*,—and the *Harlot* figures *Rome Papal*,—are not these, I say, ideas distinct, yet most reconcilable : there being added this one further point, that the Angel (like Daniel before him) *avowedly* sometimes speaks of the *Beast's ruling head* under the designation of the *Beast*² ? As to the Reviewer's suggested difficulty from the Harlot's sitting on the Beast, ("The Pope rules Rome, not Rome the Pope,") its whole force arises from the Reviewer's taking for granted, quite without proof, that the Woman's "*sitting on the Beast*," (not, as he says, *riding* it,) and the Beast's "*carrying her*,"³ implies her *ruling* the Beast. Was it so in the case which he cites from profane history of Europa and the bull Jupiter ?

¹ Vol. ii. p. 107 Note ¹.

² Dan. ii. 38 ; "Thou art the head of gold" ; tho' the head is elsewhere made the symbol of the Babylonian empire.—Apoc. xvii. 11 ; "And the *Beast* which was, and is not, even he is the 8th king ;" answering to the new 7th, i. e. the 8th head.

³ Let the sacred expressions here be well marked.

Was it so in the Scriptural case of Jehovah "bearing and carrying Israel, "all the days of old"? ¹—2ly, the anti-Papalist explanation of the Beast's seven first heads as the *regal, consular, decemviral, military tribunitial, dictatorial, imperial, and tetrarchical Diocletianic* heads, that successively wielded the executive of the Roman State, prior to the Papal as the 8th, is, he says, absurd. But why so? "Quousque patieris, Cæsar, non adesse caput rei-publicæ?" ² Was the senator Haterius, or the historian Tacitus, absurd in thus figuring the *imperial* ruler? And if not, why absurd so to figure Rome's *other* successive supreme authorities?—3ly, there is needed for the anti-Papal theory what our reviewer designates as the "monstrous *yearday* principle." But why monstrous? Let us try this by *Scripture analogy*, and *Patristic authority*, just as the Reviewer recommends. How but thus then does Jerome make Ezekiel's prostration for 390 *days*, in his figurative character, to symbolize Israel's prostration in distress for 390 *years*?³ And does not Theodoret explain Daniel's 70 hebdomads to signify 390 years, by application of the same *yearday* principle, a day for a year?⁴ As to our *English Church Fathers*, who knows not their judgment in favour of the *yearday* principle, and anti-Romish views of prophecy? Nor let it be forgotten that Mr. Williams, whose Apocalyptic exposition our Reviewer so warmly eulogizes, avowedly recognizes the truth of this *yearday* principle.⁵—4thly, the Reviewer contends that the emblem of a *harlot* may apply to Rome heathen, as well as to Rome corrupt and apostate in its ecclesiastic Papal character. And with truth. For the symbol is *by itself* indecisive. But why should John have so wondered, had it been Pagan Rome that was pictured in the vision? Again, where was the propriety, had Rome Pagan been meant, of depicting her as a woman on the seven-headed Beast with a *cup in hand*: a symbol never used on medals &c. of heathen Rome; but

¹ Isa. lxiii. 9.

² Annal i. 13. This was said in the Senate after Augustus' death, and before Tiberius had accepted the imperial supremacy, in his place.

³ Cited in my H. A. iv. 318.

⁴ See the citation from Theodoret, p. 288 *suprà*: ἡμέρας εκατῆς εἰς ἐνιαυτοὺς λαμβανόμενης.

⁵ See p. 528 *suprà*.

frequently, as before said, on Romish medals, and as a very favourite device, of Rome Papal? Besides that the Apocalyptic figuring in Apoc. xvii is that of Rome immediately prior, not to any brief passing desolation, but to her final destruction; a destruction the smoke of which is to go up for ever and for ever.¹

As for the Reviewer's strangely added argument, as if decisively in favour of the *anti-Pagan* theory,² that the Angel himself fixes the Woman to be Rome, and the Beast the Roman Empire, it is evident that the explanation applies just as well to Rome Papal, and its empire, as to Rome Pagan. And so again in regard of the fact urged as we have already seen by him, of the Apocalypse being evidently a prophecy of "some continuous and specific series of actions and events," from St. John's time, as its commencing epoch; and that St. John's own circumstances of suffering under heathen Rome formed a presumption that heathen Rome's destined fate would be prominently prefigured in the Apocalypse. For does not each anti-Papal exposition embrace, and include, as among the Apocalyptic prefigurations, the fated fall and desolations of *heathen* Rome, before passing on to Rome *Papal*?—So is his whole main argument against the old Protestant view of Babylon and the Beast found to break down.

But he adds yet a few more particular expository remarks and recommendations. The 6th Seal's figuration, (Apoc. vi.) he says, is, in accordance with Scripture analogy, to be interpreted of the fall of Jerusalem:³ and (excepting it, I presume) from Apoc. iv. to xix. as foreshowing the victory of Christianity over Paganism.⁴ The consequent millennial period, during which Satan was bound, and the martyrs reigned with Christ, he regards as the thousand years of the Church's grandeur and supremacy in the middle age: not however counting the thousand years literally; but symbolically, (just as he does the other Apocalyptic numeral periods,)⁵

¹ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΙΩΝΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΙΩΝΩΝ. See p. 536 *suprà*.

² P. 406.

³ P. 389.

⁴ P. 403; "The first of these periods (during which the winds were contending on the great deep of the Roman empire,) we consider to be described in those chapters of the Apocalypse, iv—xix., which predict the victory of Christianity over Paganism." But what he had previously said about the 6th Seal's intent would require us to construe this of the fall of Judaism.

⁵ P. 405. He praises Wordsworth on this head.—Now which, let me ask, most

as a period reaching to the present time. Further, looking to the present and the future, (for *our Reviewer himself speculates from prophecy respecting both present and future,*) he expresses his opinion that the thousand years have ended, or are just about ending; and that in the present outbreak of *Erastianism*, "which is but a modified Gentilism," we see evidence of Satan's escape from the abyss; an escape introductory to his predicted slaughter of the two witnesses for Christ and the Church.¹ In support of which general Apocalyptic views he strongly recommends the works of Moses Stuart and Hengstenberg, Hammond and Grotius; and also that, recently reviewed by me, of the Rev. W. H. Scott.²—Most unfortunate surely, and most inconsistent, is the Reviewer in all these suggestions. For he commends in the same breath Moses Stuart and Hengstenberg: expositors diametrically opposed to each other on the date of the Apocalypse, whether Neronian or Diocletianic; and consequently on much of the earlier Apocalyptic interpretations; especially that of the 6th Seal, and whether applicable, or not, to the fall of Jerusalem. His recommendation of Mr. Scott's book, as showing that such views could be held by men "that were not Romanists"³ was almost immediately followed by Mr. S's secession to Rome. His notion about the 6th Seal's intended application to the fall of Jerusalem, involves his interpreting the Israelitish tribes, in the same 6th Seal's second part, like Stuart, Ewald, &c., as the literal Israel. But a review in a later number of the *Christian Remembrancer*⁴ elaborately and irrefragably proves that Israel must here and elsewhere in the Apocalypse be explained figuratively of the Christian Church. He makes the two witnesses' death, as we saw, and rising of the Beast from the abyss to slay them, yet future: though he has

deserves the appellation of "monstrous:"—the year-day system; which, after Ezekiel's precedent, takes the Apocalyptic periods *definitely*, a day for a year: or the Reviewer's; who, by expounding them all symbolically, makes them, like Scott and Hengstenberg, as we have seen, to mean anything or nothing at their pleasure? And, to use his own words, p. 405, "this is not an individual explanation, but a canon of interpretation."—I have already spoken on this at pp. 527, 528.

¹ P. 409. If the closely proximate future turn not out so, in a modified revival of heathenism, then, to use his own language (p. 384), a new exposition will be needed "to keep pace with the century."

² Pp. 403, 406.

³ P. 403.

⁴ No. LXXXV. On the Kings of the East.

elsewhere laid down that the Trumpet, under which that slaying takes place,¹ was all included in the long past period between St. John and Constantine.—Thus, in his prophetic lucubrations, while destitute altogether of support from holy Scripture, he contradicts the *Christian Remembrancer* on one most important point, and on another most important point contradicts himself. And all to justify a view of Babylon and the Beast, as meant of Rome Pagan, in which he has against him the authority of most of the fathers of the early Church, who expected the Beast to be realized not till after the breaking up into ten of the old Roman empire; and authority too of the fathers of the English Church, who all viewed the Pope as Antichrist. Besides that in his Church view of the Millennium there is involved necessarily a condemnation of the Protestant Reformation, and of its present as well as past adherents; such as to make it a duty surely, with all that would hold it consistently, to go over, like Mr. Scott, to Papal Rome.²

IVly, It remains only that I allude to objections other than the above-mentioned, that have been made against the prophetic views set forth in these Lectures and in the *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, since the 4th Edition of that Work. I say since its 4th Edition, because of there having been large notice, and I believe ample refutation, of all objections of any consequence or pretension made previously.³

And since then the chief objector, the one, most self-confident, and he whose objections have had most of new matter in them, is the *Rev. Cator Chamberlain*.⁴ His objections are directed against my explanations of the 1st, 3rd, and 5th Seals, and the 5th and

¹ The 6th Trumpet, Apoc. xi. See Note ⁴ p. 549, *suprà*.

² I must notice yet one more remark in his Review. At p. 400 he says that “in defiance of all historical evidence I deny the Paulikians to have been Manichees.” My affirmation still is, as it has been before, that that man is the defier of the best extant historical evidence who affirms that the Paulikians were Manichees. If the writer of the Review cannot argue out this question with me, will the Editor of the *Christian Remembrancer* do so?

³ See especially my *Vindiciæ Horariæ*, in reply to Dr. Keith; and the long controversial discussions with the late Rev. T. K. Arnold in the *British Magazine*.

⁴ “The Writing Within of the Rev. E. B. Elliott’s *Horæ Apocalypticæ* tested and refuted, by the Rev. Cator Chamberlain.”

6th Trumpets : most especially against that of the 1st Seal, as being the starting point and introduction of the whole.

First Seal.

On this the historical characteristics stated by me of the very remarkable æra of Nerva, Trajan, and the Antonines, which commenced immediately after the revelations made to John in Patmos, are not contested by Mr. C.; nor their coincidence with the symbols and statements of the 1st Apocalyptic Seal:—supposing only that *the horse* is, as I affirm, a fit symbol of the Roman people; the *crown* of the ruling Roman emperor; and the *bow* of Nerva (the head of the Antoninian line), as being a man of *Cretensic* ancestry and original.—But against each of these hypotheses he makes exception; exceptions drawn, he says, from statements in the *Horæ* itself.

1. Though the *horse* was sacred to Mars, the reputed father of the Roman people, and in that character both stamped on ancient Roman medals, and till Marius' time made one of the Roman ensigns in war, besides that in solemn national festivals every year a horse was sacrificed as sacred to Mars, whence (in accordance with the known precedents of the ram and goat, to figure the Persian and Macedonian powers in Daniel) the apparent fitness of the horse to figure the Roman nation, yet it is urged as a decisive objection by Mr. C. that Rome's equestrian coin and ensign were in St. John's time antiquated; and that the colour of the horse sacred to Mars was specifically *red*, according to my citation from Tertullian.—Mr. C. does not seem to have observed that that class of ancient medals, of which Mars and the horse was one, was renewed ere St. John's death by Trajan.¹ And I am not aware that any author besides Tertullian assigns the specific colour of red to the horse sacred to Mars. But, waiving this, Mr. C's whole objection rests on the assumption that if prophecy select the animal that is depicted on some national ensign to symbolize that nation, there must be no variation whatsoever, in respect of form, colour, or other such characteristic, from that on the ensign in question, however the conditions of the prophetic

¹ So I have stated in the *Horæ* from Eckhel.

symbolization might require it.—But how, let me ask, would this agree with the very precedents just referred to in Daniel? Because on the Persian coin the ram's horns are one as high as the other, a ram such as appeared in vision to Daniel, with one horn higher than the other, could not, on Mr. C.'s principle, fitly figure Persia. Again, because on the Macedonian coins the goat had no single notable horn between his eyes, wherewith to butt his antagonist, a goat such as appeared to Daniel in vision must be deemed unfit to figure the Macedonian power. Mr. C. has his answer in the prophet Daniel.—He suggests further¹ that an *eagle* would have been rather the fit emblem, had the Roman people been meant, as the Roman war-ensign most famous at the time of the Apocalypse. But would he then have had the eagle white, red, black, and livid pale, in the four first successive Seals; a variation of colour needed by the subject, but unknown to the Roman ensign: and moreover with human riders of the *eagle* (!), of varying characteristics in each case, so as the nature of the intended prophecy of the future evidently required?

2. As to the *crown* given to the rider, and my Roman imperial application of it, Mr. C. cites other passages from the Horæ in proof that *the purple* was needed, as well as the *crown*, to designate distinctively a Roman emperor: and argues consequently that, had the rider of the white horse been intended to impersonate Roman emperors, the purple robe would surely have been noted as investing him. Mr. C. seems unaware that the purple, the "*toga purpurea*," was always laid aside by the emperor when going forth to war, as being the robe of *civil* state; and the *paludamentum*, or *military cloak*, worn in its stead. It would have been a violation of all classical truth and propriety had the crowned horseman that went forth conquering and to conquer been robed in the purple, if figuratively meant of a Roman emperor. In the coins given by me, and which Mr. C. refers to as illustrative of the point urged by him, the garment worn by the Roman horseman is not the purple, as he supposes, but the military cloak. And, as stated by me from Eckhel in the Horæ, the *crown*, where the purple was

¹ pp. 20, 24.

not worn, was of itself from Augustus's time distinctive of the Emperor.

3. Against my application of the *bow* in the rider's hand, as answering to the Cretensic ancestral origin of Nerva, and so of the imperial line of Trajan and the Antonines, united by successive adoptions to him as their common father, Mr. C. disputes neither the Cretensic character of the bow, the Cretensic ancestry of Nerva, nor the filial union of the four next emperors with him, so as to participate, according to Roman ideas and law, in the peculiarities of his ancestry. Which being uncontested, my case in its essentials remains unassailed.—Mr. C's criticism is here almost entirely confined to an attack on my own and Vaillant's explanation of one of Nerva's coins, which bears on it the Cretan device of Diana and her bow, as having reference to this his Cretan original. By a peculiar process of reasoning, Mr. C. prefers to see in it an intended indication of Nerva's *Trojan* connexion, and derivation from Jove, in common with Julius and Augustus Cæsar before him. How peculiar and strange will be seen below.¹ The point being unessential, I need here say no more about it.

Third Seal.

Against my explanation of this Seal nearly the whole of Mr. C's strength is spent on shewing that I have wrongly stated the average price of wheat under Alexander Severus, as corresponding with that expressed in the voice from the throne in the Apocalyptic vision, viz, "A chænix of wheat for a denarius." To prove which assertion he inserts sundry arithmetical calculations, of which more presently.

¹ In the legend written by Virgil for Augustus, says Mr. C., Crete and the Cretan Jove were referred to by Anchises, as the original of the Trojan race:—

Creta Jovis magni medio jacet insula ponto,
Mons Idaeus ubi, et gentis cunabula nostræ.

And therefore, in his coin of Cretan type, Nerva wished to point to the locality in which Augustus Cæsar's ultimate ancestral origin met his own.

But, 1st, in the sequel of the verses cited from Virgil, the oracle tells Anchises that he had *made a mistake* in supposing Crete to be meant by Apollo, as the original of the Trojan race; that, in fact, it was Italy, not Crete. 2ndly, had Nerva intended what Mr. C. supposes, he would surely have chosen for a type the Cretan Jove, and not the Cretan Diana.

Now it is to be remembered that the nominal price of corn must depend on *various* circumstances ;—specially on the relation at any time existing between the supply and demand ; the scarcity, or plenty, of the precious metals ; and the purity, or adulteration, of the coinage in terms of which the price is expressed. If the number or wealth of the consuming population be diminished, while the chief corn-growing countries furnish as large a supply of corn as before, then (independent of any passing variation of price that may from year to year arise out of a particularly good or bad harvest) the standard average price must pro tanto decline. On the other hand (supposing the supply of the precious metals unchanged) should the coinage of gold or silver become adulterated, the price in terms of that adulterated coinage must of course rise proportionably.—Now, in the 150 years' interval between M. Aurelius' reign and that of Constantius, the first of these causes of change had been powerfully in operation ; in consequence of the wars and calamities which more or less afflicted the empire in the progress of the 3rd century. Whence mainly, I conceive, the *fall* of the average price of wheat, in the course of that period ; from 64s a quarter in the time of Pliny and St. John, and much the same probably through the subsequent prosperous reigns of Nerva, Trajan, and the Antonines, to 32s under the successors of Constantine ; i.e. as *referred to one and the same metallic standard of pure silver, or gold*. Meanwhile the current *silver* coinage, more especially of the *denarius*, had been gradually more and more adulterated ;—to one third of its original value (when of pure silver) under Alexander Severus, and still less afterwards. Whence a corresponding *increase* of the nominal price of wheat, *in terms of that coinage*. The measure of the adulteration of the *denarius* under A. Severus is well and exactly known to be that just stated.¹ As to the measure of the fall of the *real* value of wheat under that same emperor, it is supposed in the Horæ to have averaged about one third of the whole fall between Aurelius and Constantius : because the interval of time

¹ See my full note in the Horæ from Savotus and Eckhel. Most museums of medals have specimens of A. Severus' adulterated *denarius* ; which, by the coppery yellowness of the colour, tell at once to the eye their tale of adulteration.

from Aurelius to A. Severus' accession was about one third of the whole 150 years' interval spoken of; and the causes of fall had been meanwhile in operation. Surely this supposition (in the absence of expressly recorded data) is most reasonable. And, admitting it, the result is that remarkable one stated in the *Horæ*; that the price of wheat expressed in the Apocalyptic vision, "A chœnix for a denarius," must have been just about the average price of wheat under Alexander Severus, in terms of the then current denarius.

Mr. C.'s argument against this, in so far as it is intelligible, (and much is indeed most unintelligible, or else palpably incorrect,)¹ instead of taking both these points into consideration, takes only one. "The argument in the *Horæ*," he says, "turns on the assumed mutual relation of the price of wheat, and the purity of the coin of the day: so that, as the coin became less pure, the wheat would have a higher nominal value."² Hence, he proceeds, as the denarius under Alexander Severus was one third the value of that in Pliny's time, the price of wheat, in terms of the denarius, ought to have been three times as much;

¹ E.g. says Mr. C. at p. 61, "The hypothetical one third of a denarius for a chœnix was the current price of wheat in Severus' day, if it was the price of wheat at all. A man who held in his hand a depreciated denarius might obtain for it three chœnices of wheat." This he gives apparently as the substance of my statement. But every reader of the *Horæ*, of the commonest intelligence and attention, must know that I say no such thing; but, on the contrary, that one whole depreciated denarius was then needed for one chœnix.

Again, with reference to the current price under Constantine's successors, and the then extreme adulteration and depreciation of the denarius to one 5th part of silver, which he supposes to have continued as it was under Gallienus, Mr. C. makes the following arithmetical calculation.

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 1 & : & \frac{1}{5} : : x : 64, \text{ Pliny's price, with denarius at par.} \\
 & & \frac{x}{5} = 64 \\
 & & x = 64 \cdot 5 \\
 & & = 32 \cdot 5 \cdot 2 \\
 & & = 160 \cdot 2 \\
 & & = 160 \cdot 15
 \end{array}$$

How 160×2 should be equal to 160×15 I can as little understand as the inference drawn by Mr. C.; and thus stated in triumphant capitals. "Hence it appears that, at the time in question, a quarter of wheat should have been worth 2400 of the current corrupt denarii: or ten times the number which the price quoted by Gibbon yields." p. 64.—He adds, what is certainly clear enough: "Also it is clear that $5 = 10 \times \frac{1}{2}$." But what this has to do with his calculations, or argument, is beyond my comprehension. ² pp, 61, 62.

which was not the case. Again :—supposing the denarius under Constantine's successors, to have retained its extreme previous adulteration of but one fifth of silver, as first carried into effect under Gallienus,) a quarter of wheat, at its average recorded price of 32s. of pure silver, would have cost 240 of the then current most corrupt denarii. But in the Horæ the calculation is that, when the adulteration was but one third, so as under A. Severus, the cost of a quarter of wheat was 256 denarii: that is, more when the silver was less corrupted. So Mr. C.—It is quite needless, I think, to go further in reply to such arguments.

Fifth Seal.

This is the only other Apocalyptic Seal on my explanation of which Mr. C. makes animadversion. And his objection is here simply this :—that, in applying it to the Diocletianic persecution, and æra of martyrs corresponding, I violate the law of chronological proportion. For whereas, argues he, the voice of the martyred from under the altar, saying, “O Lord, *how long* dost thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth,” must, on this explanation of the vision, embrace but the 250 previous years of Roman *heathen* persecution, the responsive words, “that they should rest yet *a little season*, until their fellow servants also, that should be killed like as they were, should be fulfilled,” are made to refer to the 1200 or 1500 years of *Papal* dominancy and persecution.—To this objection Mr. C. himself furnishes sufficient answer in his reference to the parable of the unjust judge, and comment upon it. Says the Parable; “Shall not God avenge his own elect, which cry day and night unto Him, *though he bear long with them.*?” I tell you that He will avenge them *speedily.*” On which Mr. C. thus comments :—“The Lord distinguishes between the views of saints, as men; and his own views, as their incarnate God.”—It is just so, I conceive, in the 5th Apocalyptic Seal.

What has been said will, I think, well suffice to give my readers

an idea of Mr. Chamberlain's style of objection to the explanations given in the *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, and of their real amount of value. He devotes the remaining two thirds of his Book to objections against my explanations of the *5th and 6th Apocalyptic Trumpets*:—objections drawn chiefly from certain alleged disproportions between the intensity of woe under these Trumpets, and that under the four previous Trumpets, as expounded by me; inconsistent, as he thinks, with the tenor of the Apocalyptic prefigurations. But I see nothing in them that is not just as easily answered and refuted as what precedes; and I shall not weary the reader by here further adverting to them. A cursory notice is given below.¹

¹ The woes of the 5th and 6th Trumpets ought, argues Mr. C. C., to be greater than those of the four Trumpets preceding: whereas the Gothic desolations, to which I refer the first four, seem to have been both in regard of the area that they extended over, and in regard of suffering inflicted by them, more terrible than the Saracenic or Turkish, to which I refer the 5th and 6th Trumpets.

Somewhat curiously, in his calculation of the area of the Saracenic conquests on the territory of Roman Christendom, Mr. C. includes only *Syria* and *Egypt*, the scenes of the Saracens' primary conquests; and omits all notice of *North Western Africa*, from Carthage even to the Straits of Gades; of the whole, or nearly the whole, of *Spain*, and more than half of *France*, which they had conquered within the century next following.

Somewhat curiously also Mr. C. C. in his calculation of the comparative intensity of woe, in the two cases compared,—the Gothic on the one hand, and the Saracenic and Turkish on the other,—omits remarking, that in the former case the peoples conquering and conquered became amalgamated as one people; alike in respect of politics and religion. Whereas, in the other case, there was all the continual bitterness arising out of a difference of religion between the conquerors and conquered; and that the whole spirit of the Mahomedan religion of the conquerors inculcated, towards the Christians conquered and ruled over by them all possible contempt and hatred.

Mr. C. objects also to the fact of my calculating the *year* in the famous chronological formula of the 6th Trumpet, "the hour day month and year," as a true Julian solar year of 365 days 6 hours; whereas he would have had it calculated as so many Turkish lunar years: moreover that elsewhere (e. g. in explaining the time of the Beast's domination, and that too of the Witnesses' death) I reckon the year at 360 days. The attentive reader will be aware that *ενιαυτος* is the word in the former case, *καιρος* in the latter: on which difference of expression my difference of estimated length is grounded. See the *Horæ Apocalypse* on this point.

Mr. C. does not contest the extraordinary chronological coincidences that I have brought out between historical fact and the Apocalyptic periods, alike in the "hour day month and year" of the 6th Trumpet, and the $3\frac{1}{2}$ days of the two witnesses lying dead in the great city.

Let me take the opportunity of thanking Mr. C. C. for calling my attention to two inaccuracies in the last Edition of the *Horæ Apocalypticæ*. The one is

Ere bringing this last Paper of my Appendix to a close I must not omit to notice, however briefly, a Dissertation on St. Paul's prophecy of the *Man of Sin* in the lately published Work on St. Paul's Epistles by the *Rev. B. Jowett*, Greek Professor in the University of Oxford. His position and reputation seem to demand this. My notice of it ought to have come under the IInd Head of this Paper. But it was only, in fact, as the sheet last before the present was passing through the press that his Book fell into my hands.

What Mr. J. makes of the prophecy it is indeed hard to say; or whether he supposes it to be any prophecy at all, in the proper sense of the term; i. e. any divinely inspired prediction of the coming future. But, so far as one may gather from his very obscure language, (language so obscure that one is forced to suppose that he is himself mystified, or wishes to mystify his readers,) it would seem that the following is in brief his notion of the prophecy, and the grounds of it.

1st, he says, we must set aside all interpretations of the prophecy (such as the *anti-Papal*, and multitudinous others, which he details as in the same category, and equally worthy of the philosopher's smile of derision,) because of their extending its meaning beyond the apostle's age, and the apostle's world. Whereas it is absolutely limited to St. Paul's own age, by the fact that he expected at this time, as appears from 1 Thess. iv. 17,¹ to live till Christ's second coming; and that the whole subject prophesied of, including the mystery of iniquity then working, the developed apostacy, and man of sin's elevation to sit as God in God's temple, is made by St. Paul to fall before the second coming of Christ.

that in my Preface I speak of "the moon as the Church's beautiful *Apocalyptic* figure;" whereas my reference ought to have been made to that figure of the Church in the *Book of Canticles*. The other is that in the Chapter on the 5th Vial I have left uncorrected sundry references to my *original* explanation of Apoc. xvii. 16, about the ten horns hating the harlot, and desolating her: whereas, in a later part of my Book, it is stated that I had concluded on *another* and quite *different* explanation of the passage. My notice of the change in the Preface to that Edition would suffice, I hope, to prevent mistake on the point with candid readers.

¹ "Then *we* which are alive, and remain, &c."

2. With regard to the *coming evil*, and *enemy*, though the imagery is borrowed in considerable measure from Daniel's prophecy of the King of the South, Dan. xi. 36,¹ yet cannot we infer from Daniel's meaning in it (even if satisfactorily established) that the same was St. Paul's meaning here. Because it is the habit of the New Testament writers to use the imagery and language of the Old Testament prophets as a mere fit language of expression, in reference to quite other subjects more immediately regarding their own times. Paul's meaning must be sought in Paul himself. And, so sought, we may conclude that the *man of sin* was meant by him in the sense of an impersonation of those evil heresies, and those corrupters of the faith, of which he had already seen sad symptoms, alike among members of the professing Christian Church, and among the Jews; and of which he looked for a yet stronger and more fearful manifestation.

3. The *letting power*, or *hindrance*, which prevented its immediate development must (from the language St. Paul uses) have been something then existing before men's eyes. The union of the masculine and the neuter is here to be observed; ὁ κατεχων, and το κατεχον; the one as of a person, the other as of a power. And two solutions occur for consideration.—The one is that self-same which was believed in by the early fathers; viz. the *Roman power*, and *Roman emperor*. And, had the evil dreaded been the *rebellion of the Jewish nation*, then this solution would have been satisfactory; because the Roman power so far kept the Jewish revolutionists in check. But the fact of the evil dreaded being *spiritual* seems to make this solution improbable.—Another solution, and which for the last mentioned reason seems more probable, is *the Jewish law*: since, from its being still in force, it operated as a check on the outbreak of that flood of Jewish heresies which afterwards inundated and corrupted the Christian world.

Such is Professor Jowett's exposition. And on it I have just two remarks to make.

As to his primary and fundamental lemma then, it seems to

¹ How does Mr. J. make out that the king there spoken of is the *King of the South*?

me astonishing how any man of sense should build his argument on the idea that the Apostle was persuaded, when writing, that Christ's coming would occur before his own death, simply because he had written in his previous epistle, "Then we which are alive, and remain, shall be caught up to meet the Lord in the air." Are we to suppose that Isaiah expected to be alive at Christ's first coming, because of his saying, "When *we* shall see him there is no beauty that we should desire him ;" "*we* esteemed him not;" and so on? But Paul, says Mr. Jowett, is best explained from Paul. Well then, in 1 Cor. xv. 51 does he not say, "Behold I show you a mystery; *we* shall not all sleep; but *we* shall all be changed:" using the pronoun *we* in the sense of the common body of all faithful Christians; seeing that it is applied alike to all the *dead* at Christ's coming, and all the *living*? The same surely in 1 Thess. iv. 17.—Which being so, the Professor's whole argument against our extending the reach of the prophecy beyond the Apostle's own life-time, even to times however remote, becomes a ruin. And then his exprest opinions, 1st, that the evil and apostacy meant by the apostle was most probably some departure from the faith on the part of professors in the Christian Church, and 2ly, that the letting power might very possibly be the Roman power, will be found, as we have before seen, well to suit, and indeed almost to necessitate, the old Protestant view respecting the Apostacy and the Man of Sin; as meant of the *Papal* Apostacy, and *Papal* Antichrist.

I now bring this Paper in the Appendix to a close, having accomplished in it what I proposed. I trust that I have here sufficiently shown, from the latest publications of any name or pretension, 1st that the arguments raised against the interpretation which I have advocated in my Warburtonian Lectures, more especially as regards the old Protestant view of the Antichrist, and the Man of Sin, are of no real strength; 2ndly, that the grossest failure may be shown to attach to each and every system of prophetic exposition which would run counter to that view.

And perhaps I may not unfitly conclude with a few suggestions to younger enquirers after prophetic truth, when finding themselves bewildered by the various antagonistic views now propounded on the subject of the predicted Apostacy, and Antichrist:—suggestions drawn mostly from the controversial or expository papers that we have just been passing under review.

1st then let me pray such inquirers, when perusing any books, or reviews, that reject the old Protestant scheme, and offer counter-schemes on this great subject, to mark generally the spirit in which they gainsay it; and, if written in a spirit of *burlesque* and *ridicule*, to remember that this is a pretty sure sign that their arguments are more or less based on misrepresentation. Indeed the spirit of misrepresentation has gone far abroad on this matter.¹—2ndly, let them beware of arguments raised against a

¹ An example has just met my eye in the Clerical Journal for Nov. 8, 1855, p. 508. A Letter is there inserted, inclosing an extract from “one of our best living divines,” viz. the Rev. R. W. Evans, in proof of the absurdity of making the Popes to answer to the Antichrist and the Apocalyptic Beast. A Papist, says Mr. E. might argue with equal plausibility for *England* being the Beast. But how so? Why, her maritime power answers to the figure of the *Beast* rising out of the *sea*. The number 7 of the Beast’s heads alludes to the singular prevalence of that number in her government: since there was first the *Heptarchy*; and moreover, since the conquest, seven royal dynasties; *Norman, Plantagenet, Lancastrian, Yorkist, Tudor, Stuart, Hanoverian*. Then the *ten horns* of the Beast are England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and the colonial possessions in the Mediterranean, North America, West Indies, South Africa, Australia, East Indies. As to the *woman* riding the Beast, she is the *Church of England*; her dress, and cup, and blasphemies representing her wealth and heresies.

So Mr. Evans. And not only does the correspondent of the Journal send it with commendation, as quite to the point; but the respectable Editor of the Journal inserts it without a word of caution against the absurdity of the profest parallel.—Need I suggest that there are three prominent points in the Angel’s explanation of the Apocalyptic symbol, given to St. John, that fix its meaning to *Rome*? 1st, the woman “is the great city now reigning over the kings of the earth.” 2ly, the Beast’s seven heads in one sense signified the *seven hills* on which the woman sate: and, 3ly, in another sense the seven kings (or supremacies) ruling its empire in succession; of which five had fallen *at the time when John saw the vision*. Hence alike Papal and Protestant expositors agree that the woman must mean *Rome*. The only question is whether *Rome Pagan*, or *Rome Papal*.—Was England in St. John’s time the great city that ruled over the kings of the earth? Did England sit on seven hills? Had five of England’s ruling kings, or dynasties, fallen at the time of St. John seeing the visions in Patmos?

Let me add that if, as is frequent, the Protestant explanations of the more complex Apocalyptic symbolizations, such as those of the 5th and 6th Trumpets, be the subject of burlesque, it will be well for the inquirer to look to the counter-views offered in their place. For illustration of this see what is quoted at p. 520 *suprà*.

single *detached* part of a Protestant exposition, with marked avoidance of reference to the *context*: seeing that the proof of the view attacked may arise mainly from the context; and also that this may alone show the groundlessness of the suggested antagonistic explanation. So, for example, in the favourite denouncement by Futurists of the application of the *first vision of the 6th Apocalyptic Seal* to the great Constantino-Theodosian revolution, wherein Paganism was overthrown in the 4th century; and their counter-view of its figuring the terrors of the Lord's second and still future coming to judgment. On the one side the historic argument from the five preceding Seals is a most important, indeed an essential part of the evidence for the old Protestant view of the 6th Seal. On the other the second figuration of the same Seal, i.e. the Sealing vision, at once negatives all idea of Christ's personal coming to judgment being the subject meant.—3rdly, as regards objections against our view of the *Antichrist* of prophecy, let the etymological force of the appellation never be forgotten, the same that has been set forth in these Lectures, (p. 125) and yet more fully in my *Horæ*: and how both this, and St. John's application of the term to the professedly *Christian* Gnostics of his time, absolutely sets aside all application of the term to a professedly heathen or infidel power.—4ly, in regard of objections against the *year-day* principle as "*monstrous*," and so forth, let the reader remember that almost all who on that ground oppose the Protestant Warburtonian view about Antichrist, (except indeed those Futurists who seek refuge from exposal in the obscurity and indefinite possibilities of the future,) do themselves, as we have seen, shrink from construing the prophetic periods as *literal days*; and, instead of this, make them *symbolic* numerals; so as to mean any length of time, small or great, just as may suit them. *Dr. Davidson* is an eminent and somewhat curious example. Though, at pp. 519, 532, of the 3rd vol. of his *Introduction to the New Testament*, declaring that *Dr. S. R. Maitland's* arguments against any mystical or *symbolic* interpretation of the prophetic days, instead of the *literal*, appeared to him unanswerable, yet, at the marvellously short interval of scarce more than 100 pages, he thus, when expounding

his own views, directly contradicts himself:—"We cannot believe that the (prophetic) *times* were meant to be taken *definitely* and *literally*. They do *not* mark just so many days and years. They are *symbolic*, not *chronological* periods."¹

Yet once more let me beg the prophetic inquirer never to forget the mighty authorities in favour of the *anti-Papal* solution of the prophecies in question. More especially I would refer to the profound *Bishop Butler*, and urge him to study that great writer's Chapter on the Prophetic Evidence of Christianity.²—

¹ So p. 628.

Let me take this opportunity of noticing one or two charges of misrepresentation made by Dr. D. in that volume of his Book against me.

In three or four different places in my *Horæ* I had spoken of him, it seems, as a copyist, or follower, of *Eichhorn* and the American Professor *Moses Stuart* in his Apocalyptic views, as given in the Article on "Revelation" in Kitto's Encyclopædia, and a Paper on the same subject in the *Eclectic Review*. Now, complains Dr. Davidson, at p. viii of the Preface to the 3rd Volume of his Introduction, this is untrue. "Not till the Article in Kitto had been printed and published did *Stuart's* Work on the Apocalypse come across the Atlantic.—Nor has Dr. D. yet read *Stuart's* Commentary on the Apocalypse. . . . As to *Eichhorn*, whom Dr. D. is also represented by Mr. E. as following, his Work on the Apocalypse has never been seen by the present writer. So much for the truth of Mr. E's statement."

In reply I will beg the reader to turn to the Article by Dr. D. on the Revelation in Kitto. (To that in the *Eclectic* I have not access at present.) At p. 618 he says, in reference to certain German objectors against St. John's being the writer of the Apocalypse; "Even *Eichhorn* and Berthold made many good remarks in reply; though they did not take the position which they were warranted to assume."—At p. 621; "We are aware that *Eichhorn* reckons from Augustus."—At p. 622; "It weighs nothing with us that *Eichhorn*, Bleek, and De Wette conjecturally assume that the place mentioned in Apoc. i. 9 may be a poetical fiction."—At p. 623; "The genius of *Eichhorn* wrought out the suggestion of the Apocalypse being a dramatic poem into a theory pervaded by great symmetry and beauty."

So much as regards *Eichhorn*.—As regards *Professor Stuart*, at p. 627 he thus writes; "They who take a day for a year must prove the correctness and scriptural basis of such a principle. This is quite necessary after the arguments advanced by Maitland and *Stuart*."—Let the reader now judge; Was I justified, or not, in supposing that Dr. D. had read the writers he thus referred to?—Hereafter however I will not make a similar mistake about the learned Doctor. Taught by himself I shall remember that, however he may cite, praise, or criticise another writer, it is my duty to doubt whether he has ever seen that writer; and is not rather doing it all at second hand.

I believe that we are to explain the contradiction of himself about the prophetic numerals of time in this way:—that the former passage is in reality the writing of *Dr. S. R. Maitland*; the latter that of his praiser but impugnèr *Dr. Davidson*.—The former will do well to take into consideration the citation given by me on the *year-day* from *Theodoret*.

² Part 2 Ch. 7 of the Analogy.

Very thankful am I to add that one great man lately departed from among us, and whose authority has been cited oftentimes on the other side, I mean the late *Dr. Arnold*, may be shewn to have been here altogether inconsistent with himself. With regard to the *nature* of the *apostacy*, of which the *man of sin* predicted by St. Paul was to be the head, he in the strongest terms, again and again, declares it to be just that system of *priestcraft* which was perfected in Popery.¹ The difficulties felt by him in the way of his fully carrying out the Papal application of the prophecy, alike as regards the *time* of the heading of the apostacy, and the measure of its *universality* when dominant, as if (in the old Protestant view) embracing all but the Waldensian witnesses, were founded on entire mistake.² And whereas, in his Sermons on Prophecy, he had argued that in the

¹ "So far as *Popery* is *priestcraft*, I do believe it to be the very *mystery of iniquity*. But then it began in the 1st century; and had no more to do with *Rome* in the outset than with *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, *Carthage*." So in November 1836. *Life and Correspondence*, ii. 61.

Again;—"There is no battle in which I so entirely sympathize as in this against the *priestcraft-Antichrist*." So December 1837, about the troubles from the Archbishop of Cologne. *Ibid.* p. 99.

Again, in January 1838; "This spirit of priestcraft, the root of anarchy, fraud, and idolatry, is the mainspring of all Popery, whether Romish or Oxonian." *Ih.* 105.

Again, October 1839; "I see the Tractarians labouring to enthrone the very mystery of falsehood and iniquity in that neglected and dishonoured temple, the Church of God." p. 172.

Again, January 1840; "In one point I think Antichrist was in the Church from the 1st century: yet God forbid that we call the Church Antichrist. New-manism is the development of that system which in the early Church existed only in the bud; and which, as being directly opposed to Christ's religion, [we see that Dr. A. had not attended to the peculiar force of the word *αντιχριστος*,] I call Antichrist. p. 183.

Again, June 1841. "That the great enemy should have turned his very defeat into his greatest victory, and converted the spiritual self-sacrifice, in which each was his own priest, into the carnal and lying sacrifice of the mass, is to my mind, more than anything else, the exact fulfilment of the apostolic language concerning Antichrist." p. 260.

² "To talk of Popery as the great Apostacy, and of the Christian Church as the Vaudois, is absurd." So June 1834. Vol. i. p. 395. And see too the 1st citation in the preceding Note; "But then it began in the 1st century, &c."

In fact, what St. Paul's *prophecy* marks is a clearly gradually self-unfolding evil; 1st existing in the bud, as Dr. A. says; then increasing more and more into a general apostacy; then, when so advanced, to be headed by the *man of sin*, or *Anti-*

Romish Church there "is not such *unmixt* or *intense evil* as to answer to the features of the mystic Babylon of the Apocalypse," yet in his Correspondence we find him declaring that he *cannot imagine* to himself *anything more wicked than the Papal system*, at least as exhibited at Rome and in Italy.¹

I therefore rejoice to appeal on this point from Dr. Arnold to Dr. A. himself; from Arnold under misapprehension to Arnold self-corrected: and to regard him as in reality much more a witness for, than against, the great Protestant view advocated in these Lectures, after Bishop Warburton and all the fathers of the English Reformation; to the effect that the *Pope of Rome* is distinctively the *Antichrist* of prophecy, and *Papal Rome* the *Apocalyptic Babylon*.²

christ. So that the Roman Bishop had *then* only, according to the prophecy, to take his part in its fulfilment.

As to God's *Church of the true-hearted* it is represented as hidden in the wilderness, during Antichrist's reign, known to God, but (collectively) not visible by man. Only certain direct *witnesses for God's truth*, few in number, were to be visible and active on the scene. The Vaudois we look on as some of those witnesses.

¹ "In Italy it is just the old heathenism; and, I should think a worse system of deceit." So October 1825, while in Italy. Life i. 74.

"I saw these two lines painted on the wall in the street to-day, near an image of the Virgin:

Chi vuole in morte aver Gesu per padre,
Onori in vita la sua santa madre.

I declare I do not know what name of abhorrence can be too strong for a religion which, holding the very bread of life in its hands, thus feeds the people with poison." So May, 1827, at Rome. Ibid. 279.

Again, at p. 385, we find him applying to a statue of the Virgin in the Tyrol, the tales told about it, as the deliverer of the people from the French, and worship paid it, what Herodotus might narrate of a statue of Minerva *αλεξικακος*.

Yet once more this is the statement of his final opinion on the subject, and made very shortly before his death; "Undoubtedly I think worse of Roman Catholicism, in itself, than I did some years ago." So October, 1841. Life ii. 287.

² N. B. I had intended (as stated at p. 275) to have added here a copy of my critique on Arnold's Sermons on Prophecy, given in the Appendix to the 4th volume of my *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, p. 620. But after the above extracts from his Life and Correspondence this seems to me needless.

THE END.

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